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The Thomas Hardy's Verse Drama: The Dynasts

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Abstract

Thomas Hardy's extended verse drama *The Dynasts*, in contrast to his novels, has gained neither stable appreciation of critics nor the interest of readers. With respect to the progress of English verse drama and the author's developing concept of processing the theme of the Napoleonic Wars this thesis analyses the philosophical and historical issues of the drama, the main characters, style and dramatic devices used in the drama. The thesis tries to reveal the aspects which contribute to the failure of Hardy's monumental work. The thesis also attempts to find the features of the drama which are of great value also in the 21st century.

Key words

closet drama, verse drama, Napoleonic Wars, Phantoms, individual will, unconscious Immanent Will, cinematic technique

Souhrn

Rozsáhlé básnické drama Thomase Hardyho *Vladaři* nezískalo na rozdíl od Hardyho románů trvalé ocenění kritiků ani zájem čtenářů. S přihlédnutím k vývoji anglického básnického dramatu a k autorovu postupnému formování pojetí přístupu k tématu napoleonských válek tato práce analyzuje filozofické a historické otázky dramatu, hlavní postavy, styl a použité dramatické postupy. Práce se pokusí odhalit aspekty, které se na neúspěchu Hardyho monumentálního díla podílejí. Pokusí se také najít ty stránky díla, které mají hodnotu i v 21. století.

Klíčová slova

knižní drama, básnické drama, napoleonské války, fantomy, individuální vůle, nevědomá imanentní vůle, kinematografická technika

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1. Introduction

The Dynasts is a work written at the end of Thomas Hardy's literary career. Being a successful and reputable novelist Hardy in his sixties wrote his first vast drama, even in verse, intended as a closet drama, meant only for mental performance.

Unexperienced in dramatic technique and verse form of a drama Hardy attempted to compose a tremendous work on a scale corresponding to Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. On the basis of historical events of the Napoleonic Wars he tried to solve deeper philosophical questions of the extent of man's individual will and the possibility of perfection of mankind. Hardy's endeavour to create a masterpiece failed. *The Dynasts* was in part accepted enthusiastically. For example, in the commentary on the issue of Part Third in *The New York Times*, May 2, 1908 (Internet 1) the drama was appreciated as "a work of stupendous conception and noble execution". But most critics of the time regarded especially the verse weak. For example, H. W. Boynton considered *The Dynasts*, Part Second in *The New York Times*, March 17, 1906 (Internet 2) as "not a great poem".

Each of the three parts of the drama was reprinted in the second issue and all three parts were included in the collected edition already in the author's lifetime. Hardy's stage version of selected scenes was performed on stage with pauses from 1914 until 1920. However, since Hardy's death the interest in *The Dynasts* has declined.

Modern books on English drama deal with *The Dynasts* only marginally. Quennelle & Johnson (1973, p. 439) in their elaborate book on English literature mention *The Dynasts* shortly as "a long ambitious epic-drama". Some other books on English drama, for example, those by Nicoll (1962) or Hinchliffe (1997) do not mention *The Dynasts* at all.

This thesis is aimed at contributing to find the answer to which characteristics of the drama cause that *The Dynasts* has failed in becoming a lively, influential work of English literature. It will also try to find those features of *The Dynasts* in which Hardy's mature genius could be revealed and which could address modern readers as well.

2. English Verse Drama

Verse drama is generally described as a drama written in verse. However, in English literature verse plays have rarely been pure. The tradition of the English verse drama was established by the Elizabethan dramatists who mixed prose and poetry in one play. As Quennell and Johnson (1973, p. 42) mention, the first English blank-verse play *Ferrex and Porrex*, or *Gorboduc* written by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville was staged in 1561. The play was only a small success as it was a private performance and the verse was ponderous. The English stage was revolutioned by Thomas Kyd. His *The Spanish Tragedy* created about 1587 brought immediate success. Kyd's play satisfied the Elizabethan taste for blood and horror (Quennell & Johnson, 1973, p. 45) as it had a strong and intricate plot (Nicoll, 1962, p. 82). According to Nicoll (1962, p. 82), Kyd's blank verse has a variety but it lacks the fierce passion and lyrical fervour.

The first Elizabethan plays considered as major works of English literature were those by Christopher Marlowe - *Tamburlaine the Great*, parts I and II, staged in 1587 and *The Tragic History of Doctor Faustus* staged in 1589 (Quennell & Johnson, 1973, p. 45). Marlowe perfected the blank verse, an unrhymed iambic pentameter. He made it more flexible as he placed pauses in accordance with the sense of words rather than with the beat of the meter (Connolly, 1998, p. 21). Marlowe's 'mighty line' impressed Elizabethan authors, especially Shakespeare. He made Marlovian line even more flexible. Despite its pentametric form, it approximated to free verse in some parts and reproduced the rhythm of spoken speech. Shakespeare changed prose and verse with respect to a character and circumstance but he was conventional in using prose for the speech of peasants and for comedy (Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 2-3). Although Elizabethan audience regarded an elevated style natural for noble characters and accepted the transitions between prose and verse without problems, the transitions in Shakespeare's plays had the effect of contrast. As T. S. Eliot (1971, p. 92) mentions, the changing of scenes in prose and verse, for example in *Henry IV*, implies the ironic contrast between the world of big league politics and the world of ordinary life. Shakespeare is at his best when working out a complex personality of characters into a living portrait. As Nicoll (1962, p. 211) claims, the cardinal passions of Shakespeare's dramas depend on the characters and themes. Shakespeare masterly contrasts two opposing images – the joy and the horror of human life. Halliday (1972, p. 168) gives the opinion that

Shakespeare's historical trilogy of *Henry IV*, part I, part II and particularly *Henry V* could possibly serve as the epic source of inspiration for Hardy's *The Dynasts*.

The early Jacobean dramatist Ben Jonson developed a new form of comedy, so-called comedy of humours. Although Jonson was regarded as a great dramatist at the beginning of the 17th century, since the early 18th century his reputation has declined. Nevertheless, as Donaldson (ed. by Ricks, 1987, p. 290-291) points out, Jonson is still appreciated as a great poet who powerfully influenced English comic writing. No Jacobean dramatist, including Jonson, was so significant for the English verse drama as Marlowe and Shakespeare before. George Chapman endeavoured to receive the spirit of Marlowe but his blank verse is more expository than passionate (Quennell & Johnson, 1973, p. 95).

John Webster seems to come nearest to Shakespeare in his poetic imagination, his skill in handling of scenes and delineation of characters. But the plot of his plays is confused in some passages (Nicoll, 1962, p. 110). Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher produced plays with powerful imagination but their tragic dramas focused more on the theme and on catching immediate audience's favour than on the characters (Nicoll, 1962, p. 117-118). Nevertheless, the easy and witty poetic style of John Fletcher had a great influence on English drama.

The major representative of Restoration heroic tragedy is John Dryden whose rhymed heroic play *Aureng-Zebe* was performed in 1675. Dryden developed his skills in discursive verse and satire (Barnard, ed. by Ricks, 1987, p. 384). The authors of Restoration heroic plays employed rhymed couplets instead of blank verse as an instrument for a dialogue. They understood that blank verse was not in accordance with the changing speech patterns. As Nicoll (1962, p. 142) points out, the only acceptable conflict in heroic tragedies was that between love and honour. The tendency of pseudo-classicism could be traced in the development of tragedy, which led to strictness of form, chill of dialogue and simplification of the plot (Nicoll, 1962, p. 148). This can also be found in Dryden's imitation of Shakespeare's style, in his play *All for Love*. The attempt of Restoration dramatists, including Dryden, to go back to Shakespeare failed in expressing deep and complex emotions, which was the characteristic feature of Shakespeare's tragedies (Nicoll, 1962, p. 147).

In the 18th century middle class entered the playhouse world and the audience became less homogenous than that of the Restoration theatre. As mentioned by Nicoll (1962, p. 166-167), eighteenth-century tragedies inherited heroic style based on renewed appreciation of Shakespeare, pathetic style often in the form of historical plays and of pseudo-classical style, which gradually became predominant. Addison, Pope and Steele established a set of laws for poetry exercising its influence till Romantic period. Imitation of ancient dramas was the best and intellectual rhetoric was prioritized to passion. There was the tendency to differentiate between verse and prose plays. According to Nicoll (1962, p. 196), the prose of George Lillo's domestic tragedies was strongly influenced by blank-verse measure but it was a novelty which brought reality on stage.

The audience of the early 19th century was rather vulgar. As a result, there was a tendency to cultivate theatre and numerous poets tried to write verse plays (Nicoll, 1962, p. 202). Hinchliffe (1997, p. 15) notes that Romantic poets were obsessed with the restoration of verse tragedy. The early Romantic poets, including Samuel Taylor Coleridge, were not very successful. Coleridge's *Remorse* (1813) is evidently influenced by German Romantic dramas. But as Nicoll (1962, p. 212) writes, there is little vitality in the play and the characters are not very plausible. Similarly, in the tragedy *Borderers* (1795-6) by William Wordsworth the characters remain without life, the construction of the plot seems to be chaotic and the pages of blank verse lack imaginative thrill (Nicoll, 1962, p. 212).

The later group of Romantic authors was more successful, although Keats' *Otho the Great* (1819) is weak in characterization and the verse is rather lumbering (Nicoll, 1962, p. 213). Shelley's *The Cenci* (1819) is considered as one of the most striking verse tragedies of the 19th century (Nicoll, 1962, p. 213). *The Cenci's* story of papal intrigue and savagery among the Roman nobility of the 16th century is evidently an extended depiction of England after the Napoleonic Wars (Connolly, 1998, p. 94). Despite being kept from the stage because of the theme of incest, the play was published and from 1820 reprinted several times (Connolly, 1998, p. 97). Shelley's philosophical lyrical drama *Prometheus Unbound* is the embodiment of his visionary ideas on the perfection of mankind (Quennell & Johnson, 1973, p. 306). Shelley produced a new myth based on Platonic doctrine. As Alexander (2007, p. 239) points

out, Shelley in his dramas deployed energy, vision and music of verse. On the other hand, there are some defects caused by Shelley's lyrical tendencies and his lack of theatrical knowledge (Nicoll, 1962, p. 214). According to Halliday (1972, p. 159), blank verse, lyrics and the Overworld and Underworld of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* could be another important possible model for Hardy's *The Dynasts*. Lord Byron was probably the most successful Romantic author in terms of drama (Nicoll, 1962, p. 214). All his plays from *Manfred* to *Werner* combine creative spirit with dramatic intensity. Mánek (1991, p. 113) describes Byron's dramas as typical Romantic closet dramas, which are in fact, dramas only from the formal point of view.

Robert Browning was gifted with the knowledge of men and the love of reality. He thus seemed to be qualified to write a successful drama. However, Browning's love of soliloquy suitable for 'dramatic lyrics' prevented him from producing vital plays. The plot of both his best plays, *King Victor and King Charles* (1842) and *The Return of the Druses* (1843) is bold and imaginative with obscurities in dialogues. (Nicoll, 1962, p. 218) As Connolly (1998, p. 91) emphasizes, none of the Romantic poets produced a drama as their masterpiece. Hinchliffe (1997, p. 16) and T. S. Eliot (1971, p. 102) agree that the failure of Romantic poets in verse drama resulted from the imitation of Shakespeare and Elizabethan blank verse which then had lost its flexibility and thus its ability to create real-like conversation in the play. On the other hand, some Romantic poets, including Byron, found Shakespeare as a bad model to imitate.

At the beginning of the 20th century, at the time Hardy wrote *The Dynasts*, there appeared two trends in English drama. On one hand, realism and naturalism set itself against poetic style and excluded verse as the language of a play. On the other hand, as the reaction to the 19th-century realistic plays, there were attempts to prepare the foundations for a new kind of verse drama. (Nicoll, 1962, p. 312; Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 38) Many verse dramatists produced closet dramas on religious, exotic and classical themes. A lot of verse plays performed at that time had bad quality and they are forgotten now (Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 17-18). The exception could be Irish theatre (Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 18). Yeats' plays derived benefit from myths and symbols. Yeats mixed prose and verse and he often used Jacobean blank verse. He did not abandoned the blank verse till his probably finest verse play *Purgatory* written in 1938 (Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 21-22).

The 1920s was the period of mostly feeble plays. Dramatists like Yeats and Eliot tried to restore serious matters in theatre (Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 36). The desire to escape social issues and to revitalize British stage is represented by religious verse drama, especially by plays by T. S. Eliot (Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 35). Eliot continued in the earlier Abercrombie's and Bottomley's efforts to find the specific inner features to make verse drama effective. He constructed a reputable theory of verse drama. Eliot realized that the imitation of Marlovian, Shakespearian and Fletcherian blank verse was flat in modern theatre as the Elizabethan blank verse was no longer related to common speech of modern times. It thus worked against the revival of poetic drama. (Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 35; Nicoll, 1962, p. 316-317) Eliot was convinced that verse drama had to be in harmony with ordinary language. He brought back into poetry prosaic words, including words from everyday middle-class language (Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 39). He also believed that verse drama had to employ some specific devices like melody, alliteration, and imagery (Nicoll, 1962, p. 321). His verse drama *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935) was written in verse line based on *Everyman* with both interludes and speeches of the Knights in prose (Hinchliffe, 1997, p. 42). Eliot's drama was so convincing by its emotional power and dramatic speech in modern verse that the reintroduction of poetry to theatre seemed to be possible (Nicoll, 1962, p. 320-321).

Eliot's opinion that dialogues in verse drama should be developed so that the audience was not aware of the fact that they were listening to verse was opposed by Christopher Fry. In the early 1950s Fry attempted the audience to be conscious of the music of a verse play so that it could be put in contrast with the prose speech of contemporary realistic plays. But later he also modified his verse to be more linked to present speech patterns (Nicoll, 1962, p. 327-328). Since the later 1950s the progress of verse drama has been interrupted and according to Nicoll (1962, p. 329) verse drama is waiting for a manifestation of further efforts.

3. Hardy's Life with Respect to The Dynasts

Thomas Hardy was born on the 2nd June, 1840 at Higher Bockhampton, a hamlet in Stinsford, Dorset. The Dorset Hardys were the descendants of an old family which had settled in Dorset in the fifteenth century. However, Hardy might have never

walked the earth, as he was, just after his birth, thrown aside, considered dead. Luckily, by virtue of a reputable nurse, he was rescued.

At the very beginning of Hardy's life, his parents could have hardly expected that their eldest son would survive and grow up, but at the age of eight he was found strong enough and sent to the village school. It was probably at this time that he first came across the theme of the Napoleonic Wars in *A History of the Wars*, a periodical concerning the war with Napoleon. It showed melodramatic prints of serried ranks, crossed bayonets, and dead bodies. In fact, this was the initial driving force leading to *The Trumpet-Major* and *The Dynasts*. (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 17) Nevertheless, Hardy's extensive acquaintance with soldiers of the old uniforms began at a harvest-supper where he met some non-commissioned officers from the barracks. That event supposedly served Hardy when he came to write *The Trumpet-Major* and *The Dynasts*.

At the age of 12, Hardy started the old Eton grammar, he read Classical authors, later he studied German and attended French lessons. When he was sixteen, he had to decide about his profession. He finally decided to become a pupil of the Dorchester architect with whom his father, a builder, was associated with. There was a school next door kept by a Dorset poet and philologist where Hardy often ran to ask about some disputable points concerning grammar.

On April 17, 1862, Hardy set out for London to get acquainted with the art and science of architecture on more advanced lines. He found a job as an assistant-architect and he attended French lessons. During his sejour in London, Hardy heard a speech of a War Secretary, who had served during the decisive hostilities with Napoleon. Hardy recalled this event with interest while writing *The Dynasts* and he embodied this man in the Third Part of his epic drama. Later, towards the end of July 1867, Hardy returned back to Bockhampton due to his health problems.

Hardy had occasionally written verses since his school days. Staying in London in 1865 he began to write poetry in order to publish it but his verses were always returned by magazines. Several months before leaving London he had already formed an idea of writing plays in blank verse. However, arriving back in the country, he assumed that writing verse was a waste of time and he began writing the novel *The Poor Man and the Lady*. In June 1868 an outline of a narrative poem *Battle of the Nile*, which had never been finished, was recorded. The poem showed that the Napoleonic

Wars were, in Hardy's mind, the material for poetry. Hardy stayed in turn in London and in the country. As he had been advised to write a story with a plot, he started working on a melodramatic novel *Desperate Remedies*. Although, the novel was below the standard of *The Poor Man and the Lady*, it received a striking review in magazines as a powerful novel. In November 1874, *Far from the Madding Crowd* was published in two volumes.

Although, Hardy was an unknown novelist at the beginning of the year 1874, by the beginning of 1875 his name was known to almost all the reading public. He had married a woman of a good family, Miss Emma Lavinia Gifford and London society was eager to receive him.

Still fascinated by the Napoleonic Wars, Hardy visited veterans of the campaign on the 60th anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo. He made the note there:

A Ballad of the Hundred Days. Then another of Moscow. Others of earlier campaigns – forming altogether an Iliad of Europe from 1789 to 1815. (Halliday, 1972, p. 72)

And this was the seed from which *The Dynasts* was to stem as *The Dynasts* is the culmination of Hardy's lifelong interest in the Napoleonic Wars. However, at the same time, he was writing *The Hand of Ethelberta – A Comedy in Chapters*.

With *The Dynasts* in his mind, Hardy explored the battle field of Waterloo. In June 1877, there is an entry in his diary alluding *The Dynasts* again. It showed that the idea had advanced the stage – from a ballad, or ballad-sequence, to a grand drama.

Consider a grand drama, based on the wars with Napoleon, or some campaign (but not as Shakespeare's historical dramas). It might be called "Napoleon", or "Josephine", or by some other person's name. (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 114)

While Hardy was writing about the Napoleonic Wars, he spotted the Emperor's nephew, Prince Napoleon. The Prince bore a great resemblance to his famous uncle, as Hardy noted: "complexion dark, sallow, even sinister: a round projecting chin: countenance altogether extraordinarily remindful of Boney" (Halliday, 1972, p. 86). This sight of Napoleon's image was a great help.

In 1881 Hardy had to stay in bed. Having plenty of time to think, he projected what he called a *Great Modern Drama* which seemed to have been a considerable advance on his first conception of the Napoleonic chronicle in ballad form – a sequence

of making a lyrical unit. Still it did not appear to have been the same in detail as *The Dynasts* later on. F. E. Hardy (1965, p. 148) inserts Hardy's note from March 27, 1881:

'a Homeric Ballad, in which Napoleon is a sort of Achilles, to be written.' /This entry, of a kind with earlier ones, is, however, superseded a few days later by the following:/ 'Mode for a historical Drama. Action mostly automatic; reflex movement, etc. Not the result of what is called motive, though always ostensibly so, even to the actors' own consciousness. Apply an enlargement of these theories to, say, "The Hundred Days"! (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 148)

This note is obviously Hardy's first written idea of a philosophic scheme as the main feature of *The Dynasts*, accompanied with the historic scenes.

The slow development of Hardy's style could be traced from entries in his diary. For example, in 1882 a note (which seems to be related to the philosophic scheme as a framework for *The Dynasts*) appeared:

'February 16. Write a history of human automatism, or impulsion – viz., an account of human action in spite of human knowledge, showing how very far conduct lags behind the knowledge that should really guide it.' (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 161)

In 1886 *The Mayor of Casterbridge* was completed. By this time, Hardy had resigned himself to novel-writing as a trade, though, he had never wanted to serve it as such. Engaged in the subject of *The Dynasts*, he spent his spare time of July 1886 in London visiting the British Museum Library. The following year, Hardy and his wife set out for the way to Italy. Hardy's mind was occupied with Napoleon during the Italian journey. A further outline scheme for *The Dynasts* was drafted in November 1887 - Napoleon was represented as haunted by an Evil Genius or Familiar, whose existence he had to confess to his wives. However, this idea was abandoned. In another try, Napoleon through necromancy became possessed of an insight which enabled him to see the thoughts of the opposing generals. But that did not come to anything, either.

The birth of *The Dynasts* was also importantly influenced by Hardy's recent obsession with an old French tune of his father's, '*The Bridge of Lodi*'. Although Hardy was mostly working on *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* in the following years, he was still concerned with the thoughts relating to *The Dynasts*. In September 1889, Hardy noted:

'September 21 (1889). For carrying out that idea of Napoléon, the Empress, Pitt, Fox, etc., I feel continually that I require a larger canvas. [...] "A Drama of Kings". (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 221)

However, he did not use it, he later preferred *The Dynasts*.

Hardy returned to Waterloo again in 1896 to make some more observations with a view to *The Dynasts*. Yet, the work had the provisional title of '*European in Throes*' and Hardy made only this entry:

'Europe in Throes.
'Three Parts. Five Acts each.
'Characters: Burke, Pitt, Napoleon, George III., Wellington. ...
and many others.' (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 284)

Hardy focused more on philosophical and theological issues, and verse became the main mode of his expression after *Jude the Obscure* had been strongly criticised. He wrote in his diary:

Max Gate. October 17, 1896.
'Poetry. Perhaps I can express more fully in verse ideas and emotions which run counter to the inert crystallized opinion – hard as a rock – which the vast body of men have vested interests in supporting. (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 284-285)

In the middle period of his novel-writing Hardy produced very little or no poetry, but in later years poems were added with great rapidity, despite initial awkwardness in getting back to an easy expression after abandoning it for so many years. During his London sejour in spring 1898, Hardy did some reading at the British Museum with a view to *The Dynasts*, when he incidentally encountered some details that suggested to him the Waterloo episode embodied in the poem called *The Peasant's Confession*. In December 1898 *Wessex Poems* was published. Whereupon, in the early weeks of 1899, Hardy's poems were reviewed in the customary periodicals, mostly in a friendly tone, even in a tone of respect and with praise for many pieces in the volume.

In 1901 Hardy was preparing for the press a number of lyrics and other verses which had been compiled in *Poems of the Past and the Present*. Some of the characteristic ideas were further elaborated in *The Dynasts*. During the latter half of the year 1902 Hardy was working on the first part of *The Dynasts*, which he finished in July, and in December 1903 Part First of *The Dynasts* was ready for publication and it was finally published on 13 January, 1904. As *The Dynasts* contained some fresh ideas and it was not a copy of anything else, the critics were not unprejudiced. They also found *The Dynasts* weak in verse. It was not fully understood - it was only a fragment, the first part of the drama, and its reception was generally unfavourable. It was a dead failure in America, too. It was thought to be so ridiculous that the second part would

never be heard of. Some objected to Hardy's tentative philosophy, his concept of a world directed by the unconscious Immanent Will. (Halliday, 1972, p. 158)

Hardy was nearly 64 when he lost his mother, but soon after her death another woman entered his life - Florence Emily Dugdale, his future wife, an admirer of his work and a modest writer of children's books. With her help, Hardy continued writing *The Dynasts*. There was the only interruption in April 1905, when he went to Scotland to receive the honorary degree of LL.D. from Aberdeen University. Nevertheless, by the end of September, Part Second of *The Dynasts* had been finished and published in February 1906. Part Third followed two years later, in February 1908. The drama as a whole was issued for the first time in November 1910.

Hardy lived to see some attempts to put his works on stage. In April 1908 he was present in Dorchester at a performance of some scenes from *The Dynasts* by the local Dramatic Society.

In July 1909 Hardy and his wife saw the first performance of Baron F. d'Erlanger's opera called *Tess at Covent Garden*. Hardy could hardly recognize it as his own novel since it was italianized to such an extent. However, the play was a great success. After that, Hardy attended a rehearsal of a play by Mr. A. H. Evans, the dramatist of the local Debating and Dramatic Society, which was based on his novel *Far from the Madding Crowd*. In November 1911 the Dorchester Debating and Dramatic Society introduced another performance of plays from the *Wessex novels*. This time it was a short one-act piece that Hardy had dramatized himself from the story *The Three Strangers*, entitled *The Three Wayfarers* and rendered by Mr. A. H. Evans as the tale of *The Distracted Preacher*. However, on the day in 1912 which was fixed for the performance of *The Trumpet-Major*, Mrs. Hardy died. As it was impossible to delay the play at such short notice, it was produced and an announcement of Mrs. Hardy's unexpected death was made from the stage. In the following period, Hardy wrote many poems and in February 1914 he married again.

Hardy had not originally intended *The Dynasts* for the stage, he called it a play intended for mental performance. Nevertheless, in 1914 he prepared a stage-version for Granville-Barker, who produced it in London at Kingsway Theatre soon after the beginning of the First World War. Hardy was unable to be present at the first presentation due to a cold, so he saw the performance some weeks later. He had wished

the performance to be called what it really was: *Scenes from The Dynasts* since people might have expected the whole epic-drama was to be presented. However, Mr. Granville-Barker had selected all the scenes and Hardy could not interfere with any details. He wished to alter at least indoor architecture of outdoor scenes for he saw it as being difficult for the spectators to perceive. For instance, in the Battle of Waterloo an open field was represented when pillars and architraves hemmed it in. He thought that for those open scenes a plain green floor-cloth and blue back-cloth would have suited better. The play ran for 72 performances.

Hardy later wrote many poems on war. However, the war destroyed all his belief in the gradual ennoblement of man, the belief shown by poems like *The Sick Battle-God*, and others. He once admitted that he would probably not have ended *The Dynasts* as he did if he could have foreseen what was going to happen within a few years. In October 1916, the *Selected Poems of Thomas Hardy* were published and in December the *Wessex Scenes from The Dynasts*, having been produced at Weymouth before, were performed on the stage at Dorchester.

In August 1918 *The Collected Edition* of Hardy's poems was published in two volumes. The first volume contained shorter poems, the second one *The Dynasts*. On February 2, 1920, Hardy was invited to Oxford to receive an honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. At the same time, he was to be present in Oxford at the performance of *The Dynasts* at the theatre of the Oxford University Dramatic Society. On November 15, 1923, *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall*, the poetic drama, was published and only thirteen days later, the play was produced by the company, the self-styled piece, The Hardy Players at the Corn Exchange at Dorchester. It did not make a wide appeal. Nevertheless, the rehearsals and the performance itself gave Hardy great pleasure.

Some members of the Dorchester Debating and Dramatic Society had wished to perform a dramatization of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, so Hardy, although hesitating, finally handed over his own dramatization. After that he concluded that to dramatize a novel had been a mistake in art and that the play had ruined the novel. However, The Hardy Players produced *Tess* with unexpected success both at Dorchester and at Weymouth and it was soon asked for in London. On July 15, 1925, a deputation from

Bristol University arrived to bestow on Hardy the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature. It was the fifth degree he had received from the universities.

Hardy fell ill in December 1927. The illness made him absolutely unable to work. The weakness increased rapidly and in the evening of January 11, 1928 he had a serious heart attack and shortly after nine o'clock he died. A compromise between Hardy's own wish to be buried at Stinsford and the nation's claim had to be found. Hardy's heart was taken out of his body and placed on the alter steps in the church at Stinsford. The body was sent for cremation, the ashes were taken to Westminster Abbey and placed in the Chapel of St. Faith to entombment. The heart was later buried in the grave of his first wife among the Hardy tombs under the great yew-tree in the corner of the churchyard.

4. The Philosophical Theme in *The Dynasts*

4.1 The Philosophical Line in *The Dynasts*

It is evident from the subtitle that *The Dynasts* is a historical drama. However, it is also the drama dealing with philosophical issues: the principal philosophical question is raised in Fore Scene which introduces the Overworld and its Phantom Intelligences, the Ancient Spirit and Chorus of the Years, the Spirit and Chorus of the Pities, the Shade of the Earth, the Spirits Sinister and Ironic with their Choruses, Rumours, Spirit-Messengers, and Recording Angels. They discuss the principal question what the Immanent Will is and how It works. The eldest Phantom, Spirit of the Years suggests that the Immanent Will works uncounsciously by æsthetic rote, with It's aim in Itself and not in the consequence. This idea (*The Dynasts* /further referred to as *D/* Fore Scene, p. 1) is opposed by the younger Spirit of the Pities which believes in the opportunity for consciousness and for an individual human will as a parcel in the total Will. However, the Spirit of the Years insists on its idea of indivisibility of the will which labours as one unit. It introduces the anatomy of the Immanent Will as an organism with the Prime Volitions – fibrils, vains, will-tissues, nerves, and pulses of the Cause labouring through the Earth's compositure, through all and indivisible, where human figures move like the puppets whose strings are pulled by the Prime Mover. At the same time the Spirit of the Years denies the possibility of cognition of this Prime Mover of the Gear (*D* Fore Scene, p. 6).

According to the Spirit of the Years, phases of men's dynastic lines operating by old laws repeat by analogy. It also claims that it does not care how these lines shape. Thus, its scope is only to register and to watch. In contrast, the younger Spirit of the Pities calls at the Spirit of the Years for at least a little mercy on mankind. It objects to the notion that if everything worked according to the opinion of the Spirit of the Years, it would be a terrestrial tragedy. And to support its opinion, it uses "men of deep art in life-development" (*D Fore Scene*, p. 3), loving the truth. In addition, the Spirit of the Years finds the Immanent Will as inert to men and to both earthly and individual suffering.

Consequently, the Spirit of the Years lets the Recording Angel open the page with sums of historical happenings so that the spectacles of the earth tragedy can take a decision on their controversy. Because far-off Consequence of foregone Cause, which "we may but muse on, never learn" (*D Fore Scene*, p. 7), appears itself during historical events, historical happenings may be used to answer the philosophical questions.

The Phantoms then traverse time and space and finally, they enter Europe during the Napoleonic Wars.

However, the philosophical dispute about the Immanent Will remains unresolved. The Spirit of the Years in *After Scene* tries to prove the inutility of the confection of the Will "so far as reasonings tell" (*D After Scene*, p. 522) by hinting at historical events of the Napoleonic Wars which the Phantoms have just eyewitnessed. Acceptance of the Will as the Prime Mover of human deeds in its consequence deprives people of their responsibility. However, this theme is not elaborated in the drama - the issue of responsibility for deeds is mentioned only marginally at the end of the drama, in the last three acts (Fifth, Sixth, Seventh). Here, Napoléon's individual will is just the representation of the Immanent Will. As soon as he finishes his role, he will disappear from the World scene. The history of the Napoleonic Wars and Napoléon's historical role are the evidence of the determination. The solution of the philosophical question of the Will could be found in the words of the Spirit of the Pities which believes in a good God who seems to be identical with the Will and to which a request resembling a prayer is sent to. The Spirit of the Pities opposes the Spirit of the Years which advocates the Inadvertent Mind. It emphasizes the cognition: "Men gained cognition with the flux of time" (*D After Scene*, p. 522). According to it, growing of self-consciousness of the

Will is the essential factor for the possible change of human behaviour throughout the history, as the Choruses sing:

But – a stirring thrills the air
Like to sounds of joyance there
That the rages
Of the ages
Shall be cancelled, and deliverance offered from the darts that
were,
Consciousness the Will informing, till It fashion all things
fair! (*D After Scene*, p. 525)

The Choruses inexplicitly argue for some possibility of human will.

The Spirit of the Pities believes in the Will with mercy far from the inert Will proposed by the Spirit of the Years. This Will is hymned by the Semichoruses of the Pities:

Yea, Great and Good, Thee, Thee we hail,
[...]
Though times be when the mortal moan
Seems unascending to Thy throne,
Though seers do not as yet explain
Why suffering sobs to Thee in vain;

We hold that Thy unscanted scope
Affords a food for final Hope,
That mild-eyed Prescience ponders nigh
Life's loom, to lull it by-and-by.
[...]
Exultant adoration give
The Alone, through Whom all living live,
The Alone, in Whom all dying die,
Whose means the End shall justify! Amen. (*D After Scene*, p. 522-3)

It is obvious that this hymn resembles the prayer to God.

4. 2 The Analysis of the Philosophical Issues

It seems that the question of the character of the Immanent Will is at the same time the question of the character of God. The Spirit Ironic in its question rates the Will and gods as equal:

[...] if all the Spectacle be true,
Or an illusion of the gods (the Will,
To wit) some hocus-pocus to fulfil? (*D After Scene*, p. 524)

Hardy claimed the identity of both concepts in his notes in April 1899: “[...] the conception of a First Cause, which the theist calls ‘God’, and the conception of the same that the so-styled atheist calls ‘no-God’, are nowadays almost exactly identical [...]” (F. E. Hardy, 1972, p. 303). Hardy’s concept of the Prime Mover (*D Fore Scene*, p. 6), a substance beyond Nature “motivating and directing Nature, in other words, God, corresponds to the Aristotle’s view of God” (Leeming, 2009, p. 313). As regards the Will the drama also contains reference to ancient gods. (Sophocles in *D Part First*, Act Fifth, Scene Fourth /further referred to as 1.5.IV/, p. 99; Aeschylus in *D After Scene*, p. 524). In ancient drama, similarly to myths, the hero does not take his own decisions but he only performs what the gods have intended him for. Ancient drama generally refers to the order of the universe, which always gains victory over the hero. The hero does not act by course of his own will because he is in the hands of gods. (Mahler, 2010, p. 65). The behaviour of the characters in *The Dynasts* evokes such concept of individual free will. Hardy clarified his conception in his letter written in 1907:

The Will of a man is, [...] neither wholly free nor wholly unfree. When swayed by the Universal Will (which he mostly must be as subservient part of it) he is not individually free; but whenever it happens that all the rest of the Great Will is in equilibrium the minute portion called one person’s will is free, just as a performer’s fingers are free to go on playing the pianoforte of themselves when he talks or thinks of something else and the head does not rule them. (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 335)

In his letter from December 1914 he specified his view: “[...] some freedom [...] would [...] be operative as such whenever the remaining great mass of will in the universe should happen to be in equilibrium.” (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 449) Gods are merciless in ancient drama. It seems that the Spirit of the Years introduces the ancient conception of the Will–God, which is similar to Aristotle’s First Mover. Aristotle’s First Mover, who moved the first heaven at the circumstance of the universe, is otherwise unconcerned with human affairs (Vesey and Foulkes, 1990, p. 76). On the other hand, the young Spirit of the Pities sees the Will as growing into self-consciousness and thus growing into graciousness.

The Phantoms in *The Dynasts* represent abstractions, as Hardy wrote in his diary:

Abstract realism to be in the form of Spirits, Spectral figures, etc. The Realities to be the true realities of life, hitherto called abstractions. The old

material realities to be placed behind the former, as shadowy accessories.
(F. E. Hardy, 1972, p. 177)

This concept of reality resembles Plato's philosophical concept of reality. The scene of visualized Will, where people wear the expression of those in a dream (*D* 3.7.VII, p. 505), evokes Plato's philosophical Cave myth (Petříček, 1997, p. 8-11).

On the other hand, the Phatoms are personified in the drama and they are introduced according to their age hierarchy – from the eldest Spirit of the Years addressed by others with respect Sire (*D* 1.1.VI, p. 36), or Father Years (*D* 1.1.VI, p. 34), Eldest-born of the Unconscious Cause (*D* 1.2.II, p. 42), Old Years (*D* 3.6.III, p. 467), the one all of the others obey, the Shade of Earth titled as Dame (*D* 3.1.V, p. 345), the younger Spirit of the Pities, the Spirit Ironic, admonished by the others all the time, and the youngest, with the lowest status (which results from their utterances in prose), the Spirit Sinister and the Spirit of Rumour. The Spirit of the Years refers to the hierarchy of the Phatoms when it addresses the young Spirit of Rumour:

The younger here of our ethereal band
And hierarchy of Intelligences,
[...] (*D* 1.1.III, p. 26)

The Phatoms sometimes speak to people in disguise.

This inconsistency in the Phatoms is visible from Hardy's double labelling: the Phatoms and Spirits. Hardy himself admitted in his letter written in March 1904:

[...] there are inconsistencies in the Phatoms, no doubt. [...] But [...] they are not supposed more than the best human intelligences of their time in a sort of quint-essential form. I speak about the 'Years'. The 'Pities' are, of course, merely Humanity, with all its weakness. (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 320-321)

It seems that the inconsistency concerning personification of the Spirits – Phatoms may be parallel to Hardy's denial of the personified God. Hardy himself in the Preface to *The Dynasts* emphasized that the doctrines of the Spirits do not represent systematized philosophy, as the Spirits are hoped to have enough dramatic plausibility (*D* Preface, p. xxiv). F. E. Hardy formulates this idea concisely:

[...] the drama being advanced not a reasoned system of philosophy, nor as a new philosophy, but as a poem, with the discrepancies that are to be expected in an imaginative work, as such it would be read. (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 319).

Although in some terms the Phatoms resemble gods from ancient literature, Hardy in *The Dynasts* creates his own mythology of the Phatoms who cannot influence

the course of history. They, especially the Spirit of the Pities, can only foresee. The senior chairman, the Spirit of the Years, promotes Stoic philosophical doctrine (Orel, 1963, p. 70). This is opposed by the young Spirit of the Pities representing Humanity of the Tertiary Age (*D* 1.1.VI, p. 37), with faith in a progress in the future. The Spirit of the Years is opposed also by the Spirit Ironic, another young Phantom. It ironically comments on human behaviour, but these comments include his interest in human destiny, too. According to Orel (1963, p. 71-73) the other Spirits incarnate “tendencies“. The Spirit Sinister admires the war and backs Napoléon: “My argument is that war makes rattling good history; but Peace is poor reading. So I back Bonaparte for the reason that he will give pleasure to posterity“ (*D* 1.2.V, p. 54). The Spirit Sinister seems to stand for malice. Hardy does not give it a big role; number of its speeches is limited. The Shade of the Earth, the “[...] ineffectual Shade [...] a thrall / To It [...]“ (*D* Fore Scene, p. 3) roars when the war is ruining the Earth. The Spirit of Rumour personifies rumour, Spirit-Messengers and Recording Angels record the news. The Spirits form a Chorus, which knows more than people and may evaluate the meaning of human actions. Unequality of Phantoms’ ages suggests that they are perhaps not immortal, as the Spirit of the Years suggests:

Young Spirits, be not critical of That
Which was before, and shall be after you! (*D* 1.5.IV, p. 99)

In spite of his original poetical design, Hardy’s view of the unconscious urging force approximates to Spinoza’s thought that not Purpose but Necessity governs the universe. Then, Hardy’s hope in the possible change expressed by the Spirit of the Pities by growing self-consciousness of the Immanent Will approximates to Spinoza’s philosophical view that human cognizance is a part of God’s cognizance, through which God’s self-cognizance realizes. But there are not any notes about reading Spinoza’s philosophical works in Hardy’s biography published by his wife (F. E. Hardy, 1965). On the contrary, Hardy in his letter in 1908 considered “the idea of Unconscious Will becoming conscious with flux time“ (E. F. Hardy, 1965, p. 454) as new.

There is another inconsistency in Hardy’s philosophical framework – on one hand, there is the concept of incognizance of true reality of the Mover introduced by the Spirit of the Years and on the other hand, there is the belief of the Spirit of the Pities in growing self-consciousness of the Immanent Will - the primary conflict developing in

the drama. Thus, it is clear that these discrepancies in the philosophical framework of *The Dynasts* stem from the imaginative nature of the drama.

Orel (1963, p. 23) connects Hardy's philosophical framework of *The Dynasts* with Schopenhauer's philosophical doctrine. Schopenhauer's theory of a cosmic will, a blind ultimate driving force, whose exercise results in evil and pain in the world (Vesey and Foulkes, 1990, p. 262) seems to be similar to the Immanent Will in *The Dynasts*. However, Orel (1963, p. 24) thinks that Hardy was influenced by Schopenhauer via later commentators on Schopenhauer, especially Von Hartmann, who added a note of hope, echoed in Hardy's concluding Chorus. Commentators agree that Hardy's philosophy is pessimistic, likewise Schopenhauer's (Wain, 1965, p. vi; Orel, 1963, p. 30). Hardy's pessimism seems to be connected also with his main question concerning the One Principle – It's ineffectualness in striving for the good for It's creature, Man (Orel, 1963, p. 27). Hardy traced this question backwards as far as the ancient authors (*D* 1.5.IV, p. 99). He denied an anthropomorphic God (as mentioned in the chapter The Religious Issues in *The Dynasts*), but he maintained his belief in some good force as shown in the After Scene (*D* p. 525).

Throughout the drama the Spirit of the Pities tries to answer the question about the character of man – what is man like? The nature of the characters in the drama supports its belief in the existence of honest men.

5. The Historical Theme in The Dynasts

5.1 The Historical Line as the Basis for Resolving of the Philosophical Issues

Part First displays the historical events of the year 1805, mainly the English affairs. In March 1805 England declares the war on Spain and the landing of Napoléon's army on England's South-west coast is expected. Martial mood is stirring among common inhabitants in England, anxiety and preparation for defence intensify. The Shade of the Earth formulates the question about the sense of changing of dynasties that encourage people to fight. The Prime Minister Pitt and the members of the opposition led by Fox discuss the effectiveness of the Act for Defence and Pitt's effort for coalition with Continental kings. Here the Phantoms comment on the decision-making of the politicians. They differ in attitudes concerning the question whether the

Parliament has really freedom in its decisions. The youngest Spirit of Rumour accepts the possibility of some influence on the events.

The war situation develops into the naval battle between England and France, between the English Admiral Nelson and French Admiral Villeneuve. Admiral Villeneuve on his flag-ship *Bucentaure* deals with the inner conflict whether to accept blind obedience to Napoléon and move to Brest or to use his own judgement and to sail southwards to Cadiz. This expresses the problem of the extension of the individual will. The Spirit of the Years repeats that Villeneuve has only a narrow freedom. Finally, Villeneuve decides to follow his own judgement. When Napoléon learns that Villeneuve lost the chance to gain Brest and this way to open the Channel, he realizes that he has to postpone his project against England. He quickly makes a plan to lead a great campaign eastwards, against the Austrian army under the command of General Mack. Giving wars as an example the Spirit of the Years documents its opinion that everything works by rote, without a change given by cognition. The Semichorus of the Years sings: "And wasting wars by land and sea, / Fixed like all else, immutably" (*D* 1.2.V, p. 53). Napoléon's proclamation to be back soon to stoop England is disputed by the Chorus of Intelligences: "If Time's weird threads so weave!" (*D* 1.3.III, p. 63).

Before the battle at Ulm General Mack and other generals discuss the strategy against Napoléon. General Mack votes for waiting undisputed. On the contrary, Archduke Ferdinand suggests to start the action. In the end, General Mack directs the army to occupy the bridge and the left bank of the Danube. Mack himself stays to hold Ulm till the Russians come a few days later. Nevertheless, despite Mack's conviction, the army is divided. The Spirit Sinister ridiculously interprets that the Will throws him in agitation. General Mack does not exercise his own will, he succumbs to the urge.

After three days of attacks of the united corps under Lannes and Ney against the Austrian forces located on the Michaelsberg, General Mack capitulates. Napoléon claims to General Mack that war's ups and downs must be considered as destiny ordains. He states that rotation of victories and setbacks in war is the consequence of destiny. He says: "All states must have an end, the weak, the strong" (*D* 1.4.V, p. 76) so every dynasty must have an end. In fact, he speaks for the conception of the Will proclaimed by the Spirit of the Years. On the other hand, Napoléon emphasizes his own will concerning his future plans - he relies on his omnipotence. The Spirit of the Years

comments on Napoléon's plan to exercise his will to triumph over England and Russia: "So let him speak, the while we clearly sight him / Moved like a figure on a latern-slide / [...] / Whither the showman wills" (*D* 1.4.V, p. 76).

Learning about Mack's capitulation at Ulm the English rely on Nelson as the only one who can defend England. Admiral Villeneuve at last accepts his captains' longing for bravery and obeys Napoléon's command to put from Cadiz. It is evident that Villeneuve's decision not to move to Brest has only postponed the naval battle between France and England. His individual will is not exercised and the development of the events proves the words of the Spirit of the Years about Villeneuve's narrow freedom.

The difficult battle at Trafalgar brings victory to Nelson, who is seriously wounded and dies on his flag-ship Victory. The Spirit of the Pities reacts on his early death by naming Sophocles who "dubbed the Will 'the gods' [...]: / 'Such gross injustice to their own creation / Burdens the time with mournfulness for us / And for themselves with shame'" (*D* 1.5.IV, p. 99). The Spirit of the Years reproaches the Spirit of the Pities referring to the fact that there is "a Clairvoyancy / That knows not what It knows, yet works therewith" (*D* 1.5.IV, p. 99).

In a dark scene captive lonesome Villeneuve apprehends Napoléon's chide and damnation as the command to die. He accepts the urging of the Will when he hears the voice of the Spirit of the Years: "The Will grants exit freely; / Yea, It says 'Now'" (*D* 1.5.VI, p. 105).

Part First is closed by the battle at Austerlitz. The Semichoruses of the Pities witness the suffering and dying of men in the battle and sing about the wish to the Great Necessitator:

If it be in the future human story
To lift this man to yet intenser glory,
Let the exploit be done
With the least sting, or none,
To those, his kind, at whose expense such pitch is won! (*D* 1.6.III, p. 118)

When the defeated Austrian Emperor Francis accepts Napoléon's peace conditions and promises to leave the alliance with Russia, the Chorus of the Pities again expresses the sorrow for the nations: "Each for himself, his family, his heirs; / For the wan weltering nations who concerns, who cares?" (*D* 1.6.V, p. 125). Pitt, overcome by the frustration that his effort of many years has ended in vain and that Napoléon's forces are again set free against the English shore, acts out his grief:

[...] Realms, laws, peoples, dynasties,
Are churning to a pulp within the maw
Of empire-making Lust and personal Gain! (*D* 1.6.VI, p. 128)

Pitt's words are in agreement with the attitude of the Spirit of the Pities: the dynasts in history prefer their dynastic interests to the interests of the nations whose blind loyalty they exploit. Knowing that the coalition - an outcome of his life-work for England's protection - is broken up, Pitt dies.

Part Second depicts the historical happenings on the Continent over a period of seven years. Fox, the New Foreign Secretary of Ministry of All-the-Talents, negotiates with Napoléon. Napoléon persuades the English Government to prevent Russia from taking part in their pact under all circumstances. At the same time Napoléon negotiates secretly with Russia. After the death of Fox, the English Parliament declares to the nation that peace with France cannot be made. When the Russian ambassador signs up the pact with France, Prussia faces Napoléon's army alone without an ally. In the battlefield of Jena the Prussian King loses the battle. The Spirit Ironic comments on it:

So the Will plays at flux and reflux still.
This monarchy, one-half whose pedestal
Is built of Polish bones, has bones home-made; (*D* 2.1.V, p. 162)

After several months Napoléon and Alexander meet on the river Niemen to "cut up Europe like a plum-pudding" (*D* 2.1.VII, p. 169). Later Napoléon is so amazed by the sadness, pride and beauty of the Prussian Queen Luisa that he nearly agrees with the restoration of the King of Prussia. But finally, he refuses and he apologizes for his behaviour to Prussia:

Some force within me, baffling mine intent,
Harries me onward, whether I will or no.
My star, my star is what's to blame – not I. (*D* 2.1.VIII, p. 179)

The Spirit of the Years points out that Napoléon is "[...] of the few in Europe who discern / The working of the Will" (*D* 2.1.VIII, p. 179).

Then, Napoléon aims his dynastic plans at Spain. The defeated King Carlos has to abdicate and is displaced by Napoléon's brother Joseph. However, the Spanish patriots sign the treaty with England and the English fleets under Sir Arthur Wellesley cross the sea to land in Spain. The long English expedition in the Peninsula proceeds to numerous battles: at Vimiero, Astorga, Coruña, Talavera, Albuera, later in Part Third at Salamanca and Vitoria. Napoléon soon leaves the Peninsula as he is engaged in the

new war against the Austrian Emperor Francis. Despite Austria's initial success, Napoléon wins the battle at Wagram. His plan to confirm his dynasty by tie with the venerable line of Habsburg can now come true.

Napoléon insists on Joséphine to make a sacrifice to the dynasty and annul their sterile marriage. He ignores her objection and argues that there is a little possibility for the individual will:

We are but thistle-globes on Heaven's high gales,
And whither blown, or when, or how, or why,
Can choose us not at all! (*D* 2.2.VI, p. 204)

He directs Joséphine to act in the formalities of the divorce as if it was of her own free will. Without hesitation he proposes to marry the daughter of Emperor Francis, Maria Louisa. Emperor Francis then makes the Prime Minister Metternich persuade Maria Louisa to accept the marriage to Napoléon as a guarantee of the Hapsburg crown. Maria Louisa tries to use her emotional objection but in the end, she submits unhappily:

My wish is what my duty bids me wish.
Where a wide Empire's welfare is in poise,
That welfare must be pondered, not my will. (*D* 2.5.III, p. 272)

Neither Joséphine nor Maria Louisa exercise their individual will. Maria Louisa finally marries hated Napoléon and gives him a son. Thus, the next important step towards a new dynasty is reached. But the Spirit of the Years points out that Napoléon's triumph will land in vain within several years. The Shade of Earth anticipates the war suffering resulting from the marriage of France and Austria: "My echoes are men's groans, my dews are red" (*D* 2.5.III, p. 272).

Part Third deals with the decline of Napoléon's dynastic career from the march to Russia in 1812 to the failure at Waterloo in 1815. On the bank of the river Niemen Napoléon encourages his soldiers to cross the river and bear the war into Russia for the sake of stable peace. At the same time a voice from the Russian side encourages soldiers to fight against Napoléon in the name of liberty. Both dynasts proclaim welfare of their nation as the reason for the war. The Spirit of the Pities wonders why Napoléon is doing this campaign. Napoléon reflects on the urging of the Immanent Will:

The force I then felt move me moves me on
Whether I will or no; and oftentimes
Against my better mind. ... Why am I here?
- By laws imposed on me inexorably!
History makes use of me to weave her web

To her long while aforetime-figured mesh
And contemplated character: no more. (*D* 3.1.I, p. 330)

The succession of the following events sets up the way to the unavoidable end of Napoléon's dynastic line: huge massacre of the battle at Borodino, deserted burnt Moscow, retreat of the rest of the Grand Army westwards, suffering from hunger, cold and exhaustion, attack of the Russian divisions on the bridge over the Beresina, Napoléon's flight, his defeat in the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig, his abdication and his exile on Elba. The Chorus of Ironic Spirits reflects on the failure of Napoléon's dynasty:

The Battle of the Nations now is closing,
And all is lost to One, to many gained;
The old dynastic routine reimposing,
The new dynastic structure unsustainable.
[...]
The which is seemlier? – so-called ancient order,
Or that the hot-breath'd war-horse ramp unreined? (*D* 3.3.V, p. 393)

Napoléon once more tries to overthrow the patterns of the historical process leading to the fall of his dynasty. He flies from Elba and recovers his position in France. He is very convincing when he argues by the nation's will:

The Bourbon throne is illegitimate
Because not founded on the nation's will,
But propped up for the profit of a few. (*D* 3.5.III, p. 437)

The problem of the nation's will for the throne legitimacy is also discussed in the Old House of Commons. The ministers and their supporters vote for the English participation in the war with Napoléon to save peace while the members of the opposition argue that "[...] Napoléon stands / As Emperor of France by Frenchmen's wills" (*D* 3.5.V, p. 446) and that there is no reason to distract England by wars to restore the Bourbons. The opposition is outvoted. The English, Prussian, Austrian and Russian armies under Wellington and Blücher are now to be sent against Napoléon to fight the last battle at Waterloo. During the battle the Spirit Ironic suggests a little moral panorama for Napoléon. A vision of hundred thousands of skeletons from various battles with the Duke of Enghien in the front passes by in Napoléon's dream. Napoléon refuses to take the responsibility as he was ruled by destiny, not by his free will:

Why, why should this reproach be dealt me now?
Why hold me my own master, if I be
Ruled by the pitiless Planet of Destiny? (*D* 3.6.III, p. 468)

During the four days of the battle both Napoléon and Wellington are critically situated. The Spirit of Rumour comments on the shifts in victory of both enemies:

It is a moment when the steadiest pulse
Thuds pil-a-pat. The crisis shapes and nears
For Wellington as for his counter-chief. (*D* 3.7.VII, p. 504)

Finally, the Prussian columns intervene in the balance of power in favour of Wellington. The retreat of the French grows into panic and Napoléon disappears in the crowd of fugitives. His role has gone. The Spirit of the Pities wonders: “Why prompts the Will so senseless-shaped a doing?” (*D* 3.7.VIII, p. 517). The Semichorus of Ironic Spirits answers the question adverting to the role of knowing: “Of Its doings if It knew, / What It does It would not do!” (*D* 3.7.VIII, p. 517). The Spirit of the Years comments on the reinstalment of old dynasties as a manifest of the immutable Immanent Will.

5. 2 The Analysis of the Historical Line

In Hardy’s concept of the drama historical events are the factual manifestation of the Immanent Will. It is thus the material for answering the philosophical question of the character of the Immanent Will and the extension of the individual will.

In Part First Hardy is mostly successful in retaining this concept. Villeneuve’s decision to prefer his own judgement to blind obedience, the decision of the English Parliament in the defence against Napoléon, General Mack’s decision not to disperse the army before the battle at Ulm, and Napoléon’s proclamation about the expected invasion of the English shore after the battle at Trafalgar are, as the demonstration of the free will, disputed by both the commentaries of the Phantoms and the development of the historical happenings.

In Part Second Napoléon’s contradiction between his proclamation that his behaviour is ruled by destiny and his unswerving belief in his own omnipotence is developed. The decision-making of Joséphine and Maria Louisa who accept what seems to be necessary and unavoidable demonstrates the little possibility for the individual will. However, the large extent of war events in Part Second weakens the basic concept of the drama. It is obvious that Hardy did not beware of his interest in history and his tendency to depict the historical events in detail.

Part Third is more integrated than Part Second. On the basis of the succession of Napoléon’s checks and his effort to exercise his own will Hardy develops the

impressive depiction of the Immanent Will which cogently urges the regular fall of Napoléon's dynasty. This depiction culminates in Napoléon's self-reflection when he finally admits that he passively obeyed the Will.

The Dynasts presents the historical events almost authentically with factual details. The historical happenings take up a great deal of the drama in terms of its extent. The drama contains mass battle scenes where Hardy draws his attention especially to the descriptions of the places, preparations and procedures of the battles. On the other hand, the drama includes the diplomatic meetings, speeches of significant personalities and important documents.

Fifty one out of a hundred and thirty scenes are devoted to conducting the war. The battles at Trafalgar, Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, in the Peninsula (Vimiero, Coruña, Talavera, Albuera, Salamanca, Vitoria, Nivelles), at Wagram, Borodino, the Beresina River, Leipzig, and Ligny, Quatre-Bras, Waterloo are all covered. Hardy provides numerous names of real historical figures of commanders and officers. However, the names of common soldiers are mentioned rarely and generally only in footnotes. The facts concerning the number of soldiers, the amount of arms, times, the descriptions of uniforms, the positions of headquarters, and the names of ships are presented mostly inconsistently. The names of contemporary songs also appear in the drama, for example, when the British columns march from Brussels, they sing the *Brighton Camp or the Girl I've left behind me* (*D* 3.6.IV, p. 468).

Detailed historiographic data are offered by visual descriptions in Dumb Shows and stage-directions, by poetic speeches of the Phantoms, especially the Recording Angel and the Spirit of Rumour, and more freely by the conversations of various inhabitants and soldiers. The relatively bound Act Third, Part Third, which is devoted to the battle at Leipzig, could be used as an example of the combination of numerous pieces of information about the battle. Scene II in the introductory stage-directions gives the detailed description of the city and the battlefield from an aerial view, the information about the positions of the French, Austrian and Prussian divisions, and the list of names of many officers (*D* 3.3.II, p. 382 – 383). The Dumb Show describes in detail the running of the battle (*D* 3.3.II, p. 383 – 384). Further development of the battle in Scene III is commented in verse by three citizens from the tower. Their commentaries are interrupted by more specific descriptions in stage-directions (*D*

3.3.III, p. 385-386). Subsequently, the Semichoruses of Rumours take the floor and they present the culmination of the battle in more poetic discourse (*D* 3.3.III, p. 386-7). In Scene V two officers speak about Napoléon's farewell with the Saxon King and Queen and his necessity to fly (*D* 3.3.V, p. 389). Napoléon's flight is later commented on by two inhabitants (*D* 3.3.V, p. 390-391). The disaster on the upblown bridge of Lindenau is rendered in verse by the Semichoruses of the Pities (*D* 3.3.V, p. 392).

Hardy's depiction of the battle at Leipzig is in accordance with historical facts - see historical sources (Dupuy & Dupuy, 1997, p. 847). He provides authentic historical details including the positions of armies, the names of officers, times, battle progression, the crucial moment of the battle – the flight of thirty five thousand Saxons mentioned in the dialogue between Napoléon and Murat (*D* 3.3.IV, p. 388), Napoléon's retreat through the city in the scene of the farewell to the Saxon King and Queen in Leipzig's inn, and his flight to the bridge in Lindenau (*D* 3.3.V). The poetic picture of the disaster of the retreating French army over the destroyed bridge mentions the authentic facts of Marshal Poniatowski's drowning and Marshal McDonald's swim across the river Elster (*D* 3.3.V, p. 392). The descriptions of individual battles differ in the extension of details. For instance, the battle at Jena is recorded in less detail. It is presented partly by the bare description of the battle (*D* 2.1.IV), and partly by the messages and announcements (*D* 2.1.V).

In addition to the battle at Leipzig, other significant battles - at Trafalgar, Austerlitz, Wagram, Borodino, and the battle at Ligny, Quatre-Bras and Waterloo (to which Hardy devotes 12 scenes of his drama) are worked through in detail. Hardy even considers the characteristic features of Wellington's generalship (Dupuy & Dupuy, 1997, p. 817), for example, the advantage of square columns of the infantry (*D* 3.7.IV, p. 498), the protection behind natural obstructions – hiding behind the hill (*D* 3.7.I, p. 487; 3.7.IV, p. 495), double lines (*D* 3.7.I, p. 486), and firing at short range of the foot to drive back the cavalry (*D* 3.7.IV, p. 496-7). Hardy also incorporates the crucial moments of Napoléon's failure at Waterloo - firstly, Grouchy's divisions were not able to return in time from the chase of the Prussians (*D* 3.7.II, p. 488-490) and secondly, Marshal Ney did not manage to obey Napoléon's direction to occupy Quatre-Bras. However, Ney's emotional motivation to this breakdown marked with his worries about Napoléon (*D* 3.6.III, p. 464) is only Hardy's imaginary conception. To conclude, from

the historical point of view, *The Dynasts* could serve as a textbook of the Napoleonic Wars.

The more emotive parts in the scene following the events of the battle at Waterloo are obviously inspired by personal experience of the participant in the battle John Bentley, who impressed Hardy during their meeting in Chelsea Hospital (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 106), as mentioned in footnotes (*D* 3.7.VIII, p. 518). Bentley's depiction of the sleep outside in the heavy rain in the evening before the battle is captured in verse of the Chorus of the Pities and Chorus of the Years when they describe the atmosphere before the battle (*D* 3.6.VIII, p. 483). Bentley's emotional remembrance of his sweetheart in Brussels is echoed in the story of a young officer and his partner in Brussels (*D* 3.6.II,IV). Hardy's effort to be trustworthy could be observed in his repeatedly unsuccessful endeavour to localize the probable site of the fabled ball given by the Duchess of Richmond in Brussels in the evening before the battle (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 284). Hardy emphasizes the question of authenticity of the events in the scene from the ballroom in footnotes (*D* 3.6.II, p. 454). The scene in Rainbarrows' Beacon (*D* 1.2.V) definitely echoes Hardy's appointment with an old man related to one of the Beacon's keepers whose duty was to keep watching the sea from which the French invasion might have come (Orel, 1963, p. 41-42). The scene serves as another example of how the meetings with those who participated in the days of the Napoleonic Wars started up Hardy's imaginative work on *The Dynasts*.

It is clear that the historical line of the drama is mostly consonant with the historical sources. Hardy even tries to transcribe the historical documents and the speeches of historical figures into verse, including Villeneuve's letter to his wife (*D* 1.5.VI, p. 105), Napoléon's formulation in the Discours sur le bonheur from 1791 characterizing great men as meteors (quoted by Herold, 1955, quoted in Ellis, 2001, p. 186) in his balance in the last scene (*D* 3.7. IX, p. 520), or Napoléon's personal proclamation to Count Las Casas at Saint Helena in 1816 that he has always been ruled by circumstances (*D* 3.6.III, p. 468) (quoted by Las Casas, 1823, quoted in Ellis, 2001, p. 187). Napoléon as a historical person blames his marshals rather than Wellington's skill for the French defeat in Portugal and Spain. Napoléon as a historical person says to Marshal Soult at Waterloo one morning:

Just because you have been beaten by Wellington you regard him as great general. I tell you that Wellington is a bad general, that the English are bad

troops and that this battle will be a picnic. We have ninety chances in our favour and not ten against. (quoted by Hibbert, 1997, quoted in Leonard, 2008, p. 139).

Hardy transcribes these Napoléon's words into verse:

You have been beaten by this Wellington,
And so you think him great. But let me teach you
Wellington is no foe to reckon with.
His army, too, is poor. This clash to-day
Is not more serious for our seasoned files
Than breakfasting. (*D* 3.7.II, p. 487-488)

However, there is, of course, some incorrectness in the drama, especially in dating of some events in view of the dramatic form of the work. Hardy himself claims in footnotes that he antedated Villeneuve's suicide so that it belonged to Act Fifth (*D* 1.5.VI). Then, for example, Pitt's unsuccessful endeavour from May 1804 to get the King's agreement to form the coalition of all the significant parliamentary factions (including Fox and his supporters) into a patriotic government needed for resisting the threat of the French invasion (Leonard, 2008, p. 24) is about a year postdated in the drama (*D* 1.4.I, p. 66).

There is an interesting exception in Hardy's effort for the authenticity of names. It refers to Hardy's native country – the area of Dorset. In his works Hardy named the area Wessex after one of the medieval Anglo-Saxon kingdoms existing in this part of the country, the southwest of England, between the 6th and 9th century. Hardy's Wessex was, in fact, the outcome of the long process of evolution taking several decades and was strongly influenced by the interaction between Hardy, his readers, publishers and literary critics (Internet 3). Wessex became Hardy's trade mark for his fiction that made his work distinguishable from the writings of other authors (Internet 4). Hardy continued using the name Wessex also in *The Dynasts*.

Many historical facts are only alluded in verse discourses of the characters and the Phantoms. To understand, good knowledge of history is needed. It concerns especially the contemporary British internal policy – personages and their relationships, as well as political attitudes, diplomatic discussions, and treaties with Continental sovereigns, such as the scene dealing with the efforts of Foreign Secretary in The Ministry of All-the-Talents Fox for the peace treaty with France (*D* 2.1.II). The reader without the knowledge of history might be confused by the references to the Treaty of Amiens. Similarly, Fox's death in 1806 in Hardy's poetic portrayal of the death of

England's Minister in verse of the Spirit of the Pities and the Spirit of the Years (*D* 2.1.II, p. 152) stays unclear to the reader without the knowledge of the historical facts (Leonard, 2008, p. 50). Hardy leaves the reader uncertain whom this, in fact, concerns.

Next, without being familiar with the British politician Lord Castlereagh, foreign Secretary from 1812 to 1822, whose negotiations with the Continental powers led to the Treaty of Chaumont in March 1814 (Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia) (Joll, 1967, p. 53), the reference to his diplomacy in the song of the Semichorus of Ironic Spirits introducing the Battle of Nations at Leipzig remains unclear (*D* 3.3.I, p. 377). It is necessary to know Nelson's biography to understand his words about dear Naples and Palermo days (*D* 1.2.I, p. 40) which refer to his affair with Emma Hamilton in Italy (Hilton, 2008, p. 106). If the reader does not read the cast carefully, he might not notice that General Sir Arthur Wellesley was later the Duke of Wellington (Leonard, 2008, p. 65), as it is not explicitly mentioned in the drama. The reader understands the words of dying Joséphine: "My coquetries / In our first married years nigh racked him through" (*D* 3.4.VII, p. 423) only in case he or she is familiar with Joséphine's repeated infidelities, mainly in the period when Napoléon made wars in Egypt, which deeply touched his emotional life and made him numb (Ellis, 2001, p. 35).

On the contrary, Hardy in his commentaries on Pitt (*D* 1.4.VI; 1.6.VI,VIII) provides a lot of details, he draws the entire authentic picture of Pitt's failing health, tiredness, increasing dependence on alcohol, occasional signs of losing his grip and depression by the continued lack of success in the war (Leonard, 2008, p. 23). In fact, the reader is presented with the picture of a lonely man who places the national interest above all and who is utterly incorrupt in all his dealings (Leonard, 2008, p. 26) till his death. Hardy on the one hand, tries in *The Dynasts* to be as authentic as possible, on the other hand, the poetic delivery cannot be always explicit.

Hardy incorporates the contemporary approach in Napoléon. The important British newspapers and magazines *The Courier*, *The Times*, *The Quarterly* interpreting the official war propaganda showed Napoléon as a plundering war adventurer, egoist, cowardly swindler without the education of a gentleman. Napoléon's cruelty was exaggerated to provoke resentment in readers. The more moderate attitude of the Whigs was represented in *The Edinburgh Review* which showed more reasonable war commentaries. The anti-Napoléonic propaganda became even stronger during the period

of the threat of Napoléon's invasion of the English shore in the years 1803 – 1805. (Ellis, 2001, p. 200-202) This is in accordance with how Napoléon is characterized by various characters in the drama, for example, in Part First he is identified with war and aggression in the words of a passenger: "He's not to be trusted! War is his name, and aggression is with him!" (*D* 1.1.I, p. 11). He is seen as an unhuman monster in the image of a woman at Rainbarrows' Beacon: "They say that He lives upon human flesh, and has rashers o'baby every morning for breakfast – for all the world like the Cernel Giant in old ancient times!" (*D* 1.2.V, p. 52). And General Mack before the battle at Ulm finds Napoléon as a vulgar war adventurer:

[...] vulgar foe,
Who is not France, but an adventurer
Imposing on that country for his gain. (*D* 1.4.III, p. 71)

Although at the beginning of Part Second Napoléon is portrayed as a demon in Maria Louisa's voice: "It is he, [...] who is referred to in the Apocalypse" (*D* 2.4.I, p. 231) and: "So wicked, too!" (*D* 2.5.III, p. 270), later in Part Second, during the era of Napoléon's glory, such statements do not appear any more. Only after Napoléon's serious losses paid by the lives of thousands of soldiers, the view of folk again turns against Napoléon. The French inhabitants meeting him on his voyage to Elba shout: "Ogre of Corsica! Odious tyrant!" (*D* 3.4.VI, p. 418). During the war preparations for the battle of the Allies with Napoléon after his flight from Elba, a rustic on Durnover Hill calls him a villain, same as he is made outlawed in the Declaration of the Allies (*D* 3.6.I, p. 454): "There's not a more charnel-minded villain towards womenfolk in the whole world." (*D* 3.5.VI, p. 451)

Napoléon's contemporary French critics Madame de Staël and Chatebriand, despite their initial admiration of him for being a gifted general, characterized Napoléon as despotic, immoderately ambitious and arrogant, childishly blind folded by his own fame, insensitive to war suffering. They criticized him for the censorship, intolerance to an opposition, and cynical handling of the Church. (Ellis, 2001, p. 190-191) Hardy basically retains these characteristics of Napoléon's personality.

However, concerning Nelson and Wellington, the situation is different. According to Hilton (2008, p. 106), Nelson as a historical person is hard to reconcile with Nelson's myth. He was "ruthless, crude, and egoistical, a hanger and flogger of his own men, and merciless towards enemy" (Hilton, 2008, p. 106), and, similarly to

Wellington, neglecting his wife. Nelson both as a historical figure as well as the character in *The Dynasts* “was fearless and simple-minded, passionately loyal to his King, [...] he was a worthy antagonist of the French Emperor“ (Hilton, 2008, p. 106). Hardy with the view of his imaginative work chooses just those Nelson’s features which represent the contrast to Napoléon’s longing for his own power, his own dynastic line, his own profit, as well as his cowardice.

Wellington, another Napoléon’s antagonist, is not fully depicted in accordance with historical facts. Hardy omits Wellington’s “scant respect for the orders of his superiors, [...] his reluctance to give credit to his subordinates“ (Leonard, 2008, p. 139), his amours and neglecting of his wife. Hardy in *The Dynasts* keeps in Wellington’s portrait his respect for his opponents, his discipline, his honourable dealings and his excellent defensive war tactics (Leonard, 2008, p. 138-139), and his high standard of bravery (Keegan, 2006, p. 87). Although less than Nelson’s personality, also Wellington’s character remains idealized in the drama. It is obvious that Hardy eventually benefits from historical events and historical facts in his writings.

In contrast to the philosophical issues of the drama, which especially with regard to the Spirits, raised the reactions of the critics, the historical line of the drama is, despite its voluminosity, discussed less often in the sources mentioned bellow. Critical notes deal with the amount of facts resembling a catalogue, and succession of historical facts leading to a vagueness (quoted by Clifford, 1957, quoted in Orel, 1963, p. 53). Orel (1963) points out that too many matters, especially in Part Second, are involved, which results in some diffusion, e.g. Act Second, Third, Sixth and partly Act Fourth distract from weightier matters (Orel, 1963, p. 58). Although Spanish campaign, where the unifying figure of the drama, Napoléon, is not present, distracts the focus from the main line of Napoléon’s way, Hardy in his drama probably tried to respect historical facts that this campaign is considered by historians as the second important contributory factor to Napoléon’s downfall (Leonard, 2008, p. 137). On the contrary, Halliday (1972, p. 166) appreciates that Hardy gives real and convincing picture of the English characters and scenes of late-Georgian and Regency times, as he draws from his boyish years, when Dorset looks much as it did during the Napoleonic Wars.

6. The Analysis of the Characters in The Dynasts

6.1 Napoléon

The main protagonist of *The Dynasts* is the character of *Napoléon* who seems to be the driving force of the events in Europe in the years 1805 – 1815. The drama follows the rise and fall of Napoléon's dynastic effort. The antagonism of his character rests in the fact that he was brought to power by the French Revolution, which was, in fact, based on antidynastic principles as the Spirit of the Pities stresses to Napoléon during the Coronation ceremony (*D* 1.1.VI). As Napoléon himself admits in the last scene (*D* 3.7.IX), his only objective was to implant his line upon the throne and he subordinated everything to it.

Napoléon is portrayed as the representative of a man who exploits the nation for his own gain. He manipulates the individuals (Joséphine in *D* 2.2.VI), public opinion of his nation (after Trafalgar in *D* 1.6.I), monarchs into signing treaties (in terms of his effort to separate the allies in *D* 1.6.V; 2.1.II,VII), and nations (*D* 2.1.VII) as if all of them were just the puppets in his deceitful dynastic game.

Napoléon is very successful in whipping up strong emotions, enthusiasm and devotion of his soldiers and officers, as he often reminds them of their loyalty and ideals. He emphasizes the ideas of the French Revolution, the pride in the nation and patriotism as he identifies himself with France (*D* 1.6.I; 3.1.I; 3.4.II; 3.5.III). However, Napoléon does not act in accordance with the ideas that he proclaims; he does not concern himself with his duties to the nation. He considers the folk as children whose emotions could be manipulated for his own profit, as he mentions in connection with his intention to gild the dome of the Invalides:

To give them something
To think about. They'll take to it like children,
On its artistic points. – So they'll forget
The woes of Moscow. (*D* 3.1.XII, p. 364)

Napoléon regards emotions as something childish, trivial and unimportant even in personal relationships. He ignores the feelings and emotions of the others, as illustrated for example in how he deals with Joséphine's feelings: "Upon my soul you are childish, Joséphine" (*D* 2.5.II, p. 260). He rarely succumbs to the emotions of sympathy and mercy on other people. However, there are some exceptional moments in his life – first, when he meets the Prussian Queen Louise (*D* 2.1.VIII), second, when he

witnesses Marie Louise's difficult delivery and he decides to save Marie Louise when it seems that both mother and child cannot be saved. This is the only occasion when his dynastic interests are subdued by compassion on another human being. He promises:

Never shall she go through this strain again
To lay down a dynastic line for me. (*D* 2.6.III, p.294)

In the same scene Napoléon expresses the sentiment to his former mistress Madame Walewska and his son by her. He reacts with affection and shows pride in his son, the King of Rome, when at Borodino he is given a portrait of his son playing with the ball representing the globe (*D* 3.1.IV) and later when he returns from the Russian campaign (*D* 3.1.XII). As Joséphine expresses, his son is Napoléon's successor and future embodiment of his soul:

The second of his line be who shows
Napoléon's soul in later bodiment,
[...] (*D* 2.2.VI, p. 204)

However, Napoléon does not feel sorry for all the sons who died in the war when Marie Louise expresses her understanding for the feelings of mothers of the young soldiers (*D* 3.1.XII). The Russian Empress-Mother in reaction to Alexander's disappointment with Napoléon describes Napoléon's self-centred character:

But whatsoever grief be Alexander's,
His will be none who feels but for himself. (*D* 2.5.VII, p. 285)

Napoléon does not respect other authorities, neither the Church when he places the crown of Lombardi on his head himself (*D* 1.1.VI) nor his opponent when he belittles Wellington (*D* 3.7.II).

Although Napoléon does not usually behave nobly to a fallen opponent, he makes an exception when he invites General Mack to warm up by his fire. Napoléon claims that in war the victories and defeats must be taken "[...] as impish chance or destiny ordains" (*D* 1.4.V, p. 75), but shortly after that, he does not forget to emphasize his own power. Next, he behaves generously to Emperor Francis after the battle at Austerlitz, but he does it only in order to follow his strategic plan to achieve the decline of the coalition (*D* 1.6.V). In contrast to his grandness, there is cruelty and cold-heartedness towards the soldiers of the enemy army when he laughingly orders his soldiers to fire upon the frozen lake which is just being crossed by the Russian columns (*D* 1.6.IV).

Napoléon always reveals his emotions for a very short time, then he immediately returns to his strategic plans. It also concerns negative emotions, such as the emotions of disappointment and despair in confrontation with bad news, which includes the news about Villeneuve's failure (*D 1.3.I*), Austria's planned treaty with England (*D 2.3.II*), clamours for the Bourbons by Paris folk (*D 3.4.IV*) and the Prussians on the French rear at Waterloo (*D 3.7.VI*).

Napoléon inclines to quick decisions and actions in order to win both in war and in his personal matters, as illustrated in the scene of his proposal to Marie Louise (*D 2.5.I*). He is always on the move; the characteristic demonstration of this feature is his dodging. Napoléon does not hesitate and starts an unfair action or lies to his soldiers to win upon any terms, as for example at Waterloo (*D 3.7.VIII*). He is unable to accept failure, which can be understood from his own words on his voyage to Elba:

In Europe all is past and over with me ...
Yes – all is lost in Europe for me now!
[...]
But Asia waits a man,
And – who can tell? (*D 3.4.VI*, p. 420)

At the very beginning, quick decision making leads him to success, but it is changed after the experience of the reality in Russia. His inability to accept failure prevents him from seeing the reality as it is. As a result, he denies the reality, as in the scene before the abdication, where he argues that he is strong with fifty thousand soldiers. However, at that time he has no army any longer (*D 3.4.IV*).

If he is prevented from the action, he frequently falls in apathy and short sleeps. He tends to confuse the reality with dreams. It happens more and more often from the battle at Leipzig (*D 3.3.IV*) through the scene of the abdication (*D 3.4.IV*), up to the battle at Waterloo (*D 3.6.I,III*). Anger becomes his only strong affective reaction to those who did not obey his orders or did not meet his expectations. He does not accept the adverse circumstances, he blames others for cowardice, betrayal and lack of loyalty. He is angry with Villeneuve (*D 1.3.I*), his generals – Masséna after his retreat in Spain (*D 2.6.III*) and Marshal Marmont after his failure at Salamanca (*D 3.1.IV*), Ney at Waterloo (*D 3.6.III*). He becomes furious when he is informed about the advantage in number of the Austrian and Prussian armies (*D 3.3.I*). After he returns from Elba, he often releases the tension by taking snuff; his face has gloomy resentful expression, his figure accentuates his stoutness (*D 3.7.II*). Another Napoléon's gradually intensifying

emotion is fear of a treacherous assassination, which is the result of his pleading not guilty for the deads in his wars (*D* 2.5.I; 3.6.I; 3.7.VI). He misses his loyal companions who are dead and his loneliness gradates till the last scene after the defeat at Waterloo (*D* 3.7.IX).

Anger and fear are the only traits of Napoléon's character which develop over the time. At the moments of failure, Napoléon's vein of cowardice is revealed: he flees, he saves himself and he desolates his soldiers in Russia (*D* 3.1.XI), at Leipzig (*D* 3.3.V) and at Waterloo (*D* 3.7.VIII).

6. 2 Other Male Characters

Emperor Francis and Emperor Alexander also subordinate the destiny of their nations and of their close friends to their dynastic interests. They both take an inconsistent approach to Napoléon: they lead wars with Napoléon but they are willing to ally with him and betray their current allies in the name of their dynastic interests. They are even disposed to agree with Napoléon's request to marry the member of their family (Emperor Francis in *D* 1.6.V; Emperor Alexander in *D* 2.1.VII). **Emperor Francis** acts secretly. He proclaims love and respect for his daughter's decision when he says: "affection is my duty, heart my guide" (*D* 2.5.III, p. 269) but then he lets his Prime Minister convince her by appealing to her obligations to the nation (*D* 2.5.III). **Emperor Alexander** seems to be, in contrast to the Emperor Francis, more driven by emotions. He is emotionally more loyal. He mourns in tears the fate of his brave soldiery at Austerlitz (*D* 1.6.V). After the defeat of the Prussian army, while Alexander and Napoléon are 'cutting up' the world (*D* 2.1.VII) Alexander asks Napoléon for courtesy and mercy for the Prussian Queen Louisa, whom he sympathizes with (*D* 2.1.VII,VIII). Later, he hesitates with his consent to the marriage of his sister to Napoléon. In the end, he casts aside his feelings for both the Prussian Queen (*D* 2.1.VIII) and his sister (*D* 2.5.VII) for the sake of his dynastic plans. His feelings thus remain only on the level of a sentiment.

King George seems to be the only monarch who truly regrets the suffering and death of his soldiers. However, he expresses his regret only when he is kept in Windsor because of his senility and has no political power (*D* 2.6.V).

There are also common people included in the list of dishonest characters who identify their own profit with the profit of the society, such as the character of the servant Constant. He justifies his theft of Napoléon's money after Napoléon's abdication by words: "[...] it is for the good of society that I should not be wasted here" (*D* 3.4.IV, p. 413). He might be put in contrast to another servant Roustan representing the folk who act honestly, as he says in the same situation: "It is not money that I want, but honour. I leave, because I can no longer stay with self-respect" (*D* 3.4.IV, p. 413).

The characters devoted to the nation, duty and honour - Nelson, Pitt, Moore, Wellington, Ney, Brunswick, and the Sergeant - represent the counterbalance in the dispute about the character of mankind. According to Decrés, *Admiral Nelson* could be distinguished by his blind bravery (*D* 1.3.I). He does not hesitate and gives his life if it means to execute his duty to the nation. Despite being seriously wounded, he does his duty and he expects the same from his men, as it is expressed in his signal for the beginning of the battle at Trafalgar: "England expects every man will do his duty" (*D* 1.5.I, p. 83). He does not delegate performing the duties of the commanding officer as doing his duty with honour is the most important for him. He is even proud of what he was entrusted with. Nelson does not hide his decorations, although it means for him greater risk of death. He takes interest in his officers and sailors - he mourns their suffering and death. He does not prize his own life more than the life of anybody else on the deck (*D* 1.5.II). His emotionality is also revealed when he appreciates Captain Hardy's affection for him. Being aware of the fact that he is dying, he tells Hardy about his love for a woman, he expresses his worries about his daughter and finally, he intrusts his daughter to Hardy's care (*D* 1.5.II,IV). Nelson is capable of having a close relationship with a friend, his friendliness to Hardy is shown in the emotive scene of the leave-taking when Nelson asks Hardy to kiss him. Nelson's immoral affair with Lady Hamilton and his success with women are mentioned only marginally (*D* 1.4.I; 1.5.V).

For the Prime Minister *William Pitt* the safety of England is prior to everything. He devotes his life to the establishment of the anti-Napoleonic coalition with Continental monarchs (*D* 1.1.III). He supports in vain the coalition with the opposition in order to establish the strong English government (*D* 1.4.I). When he is proclaimed as the Saviour of England after the victory at Trafalgar, he does not credit himself, but England, with the merit: "England has saved herself, by her exertions" (*D* 1.5.V, p.

103). In contrast to Napoléon who is driven by his own fame, both Nelson and Pitt concern themselves more with the welfare of England than with their own fame. Like Nelson, Pitt emphasizes honour, as he does, for example, in the debate in the House of Commons (*D* 1.1.III). According to Lord Mulgrave watching Pitt's reaction to Mack's debacle at Ulm, Pitt "too swiftly declines to feebleness." (*D* 1.4.VI, p. 79). At the end of his career, Pitt is strongly emotionally hurt by the decline of the coalition after the failure at Austerlitz and by the fact that England faces Napoléon's imperial ambitions alone (*D* 1.6.VI). Even on his death bed, he feels responsible for England and he is tortured by the image of the national disaster (*D* 1.6.VIII). Pitt's less positive features, i. e. his taste for alcohol, and the dead and wounded soldiers from battles - the victims of his policy, are also, like in case of Nelson, mentioned only marginally (*D* 1.5.V; 1.6.VI).

Another character who prioritizes honour and meeting of the country's needs over his own life is **Sir John Moore**. He fights at the head of his soldiers at the battle near the town Coruña. He encourages the soldiers during the blood-letting by his own example and by the references to their bravery in previous wars in Egypt. Moore stays firm even when he is seriously wounded and is aware of the fact that he is dying. Like Nelson, despite being fatally injured, he performs the duties of the commanding officer - he requires to be moved so that he can catch a glimpse of how the battle is running. Similarly to Nelson, he expresses his satisfaction that he is dying after he could honestly perform the duties towards England:

I hope that England – will be satisfied –
I hope my native land – will do me justice! ... (*D* 2.3.III, p. 219)

[...] 'Tis *this* way I have wished to die! (*D* 2.3.III, p. 221)

Both Nelson and Moore receive the recognition from their nation (*D* 2.3.V).

Sir Arthur Wellesley, later **Lord Wellington**, is another English officer who, like Nelson, rates his duties to the nation higher than his own life. He feels as obliged to his duty to his nation as his soldiers. Wellington keeps his head even in the situation of big losses, when he is in danger of losing his life in the battle at Waterloo, as he says:

[...] to hold out unto the last,
As long as one man stands on one lame leg
With one ball in his pouch! – then end as I. (*D* 3.7.VII, p. 507)

He again expresses his obligation to his country in different words:

And though the day seems wearing doubtfully,
Beaten we must not be! What would they say
Of us at home, if so? (*D* 3.7.VII, p. 508)

Wellington remains firm in his attitude to duty. Although he sometimes seems to be too tough, at the same time he reveres the lives of his soldiers. He does not jeopardize their lives for nothing, as in the battle of Waterloo, when he orders them to hide behind the hill as long as possible (*D* 3.7.IV). His manners are deliberated, judicial, almost indifferent (*D* 3.6.V). Even in the most difficult moments of the battle, Wellington keeps his head and waits for the convenient opportunity to avert the French attack. Unlike Napoléon, he supports his soldiers in adverse situations (*D* 3.7.VIII). Wellington does not often succumb to emotions, however, he is not emotionally cold. For example, he expresses sympathy with the sorrow of the dead soldier's wife, Mrs. Prescott (*D* 3.1.III), he regrets death of his soldiers - he appreciates their nobility and bravery (*D* 3.7.IV,VIII). His impartiality is revealed when, in his speech after the battle near the river Nivelle in the Pyrenees, he appreciates the bravery of his opponent - the French soldiers (*D* 3.3.VI). He also acknowledges Marshal Ney's courage and loyalty (*D* 3.7.IV). In contrast to Napoléon who disdains the rivals as he flouts Wellington (*D* 3.7.II) and mocks Alexander at Austerlitz (*D* 1.6.V), Wellington is able to acknowledge the real advantage of the opponent when he admits that Napoléon befuddled him when he gained the advantage of twenty-four hours marching upon him (*D* 3.6.II). Unlike Napoléon who falls into a rage or apathy, Wellington stays composed and calm. Compared to Nelson who succumbs to his passion, especially in terms of his relationship to women, Wellington is featured by self-controlled positive emotivity, which he also recommends to Duke Bruswick when the Duke swears to revenge his father::

Take cheerful views of the affair in hand,
And fall to't with sang froid! (*D* 3.6.II, p. 459)

Wellington is personally brave. Similarly to Nelson, he plays down the danger of his own life when he is proceeding in the front line and is encouraging his soldiers (*D* 3.7.VII). Wellington is depicted as an almost completely positive character. Perhaps the only thing for which he could be criticized is his lack of attention to the plundering and exploiting behaviour of his soldiers to the defeated both in Spain after the battle at Vitoria (*D* 3.2.III) and at Waterloo (*D* 3.7.VIII).

The group of the English officers who execute their duties regardless of the risk to life includes also a company officer, the *Sergeant*, in the scene of the retreating English army near Astorga in Spain, who, trying to hide his pain from racking cough, encourages his soldiers to proceed and fight against the haunting French despite being exhausted and cold (*D* 2.3.I).

Hardy's patriotism is weakened when he attributes the qualities of loyalty, honour and bravery to the character of the French *Marshal Ney*. In contrast to the English officers who express their loyalty to their country, Ney is driven by his loyalty to Napoléon. Like Nelson and Moore, Ney wishes to die honourably. Unlike Napoléon who immediately vanishes when the battle is lost, both at Leipzig (*D* 3.3.V) and at Waterloo (*D* 3.7.VIII), Marshal Ney at the head of the remnant of the Imperial Guard challenges his men to fight: "My friends, see how a Marshal of France can die!" (*D* 3.7.VIII, p. 516).

The existence of all of the brave and honest men supports the belief of the Spirit of the Pities:

[...] But others find
Poesy ever lurk where pit-pats poor mankind! (*D* 2.3.I, p. 210)

The Spirit of the Pities believes in good mankind who deserves mercy. However, rating the heroism of one of the heroes, Marshal Ney, the Spirit cannot avoid the sigh:

Why should men's many – valued motions take
So barbarous a groove! (*D* 3.7.IV, p. 497)

6. 3 Female Characters

The list of rather black and white male characters in the drama might be extended by the female character of the *Queen of Prussia* who also heroically protects her country, abandoned and betrayed Prussia, before the battle with Napoléon's army. She stands at the head of her hussars, wearing the army uniform. Even after she learns that the battle has been lost, her heroism saves her from sliding tears (*D* 2.1.III,V). In the appointment with Napoléon and Alexander, she is still depicted as a distinctively positive character. However, the way she perceives the situation has changed. She retains her pride, but in her sadness, she cannot avoid tears and she evokes an impression of a wounded beauty (*D* 2.1.VIII).

There are also other female characters in the drama who are more complex in terms of psychology. The Austrian *Archduchess Maria Louisa* develops from a young girl into a woman who in her patriotism before the battle at Wagram wishes Napoléon to die; in her dynastic pride she criticizes the marriage of the Princess of the House of Romanoff to low-born Napoléon (*D* 2.4.I). However, the carefreeness of her childhood in the secure parental house is suddenly confronted with the requirement to fulfill the role of a wife - the wife of an odious man who she condemns for both the devilry performed on her country and the behaviour to his wife Joséphine. This is exactly what her father, her guarantor of security, asks her with no regard for her emotional objections. Finally, she suppresses her feelings and accepts the marriage to Napoléon as her duty (*D* 2.5.III). As the French Empress Marie Louise, she is a loyal wife and mother. However, as soon as Napoléon loses his power and her loyalty gets into conflict with the needs of Emperor Francis and Hapsburg House, she falls into despair. Before the occupation of Paris by the allies after the battle at Leipzig (*D* 3.4.III), and after Napoléon's flight from Elba, she laments over her fate:

[...] Methinks that I was born
Under an evil-coloured star, whose ray
Darts death at joys! [...] (*D* 3.5.II, p. 433)

Then, Marie Louise decides to obey her father - she passively accepts the will of the authority. She blames fate for her emotional suffering. Only in the end, she realizes that she was just the puppet in both her father's and Napoléon's dynastic game. Thus, she refuses to take the responsibility:

But none the less I saw myself therein
The lamb whose innocent flesh was dressed to grace
The altar of dynastic ritual! –
Hence Elba flung no duty-call to me,
Neither does Paris now. (*D* 3.5.IV, p. 443).

She abandons her role of a loyal wife and mother and prefers, to her own advantage, being installed as the Duchess of Parma.

Like Marie Louise, *Joséphine* also reacts very emotionally in a critical situation. But unlike Marie Louise, she acts out of love for Napoléon (*D* 2.5.II). Although Napoléon does not accept her good will and ignores her feelings, she feels love and devotion for him. As she confesses when she is dying (*D* 3.4.VII), her attitude does not change even after Napoléon loses his power.

In contrast to the Prussian Queen Louisa who puts the safety of her country first, the Spanish *Queen María Luisa* is primarily worried about the safety of her lover General Godoy. At the risk from the advancing Napoléon's army she reproaches Godoy jealously with his affection for other women. She turns with contempt and fear to her folk, who are angry with Godoy because of his failure to defend the country (*D* 2.2.II).

6. 4 The Summary of the Analysis of the Characters

According to the Spirit of the Pities, Napoléon represents those aspects of mankind which do not deserve mercy and compassion. In contrast to Napoléon's character, there appear other characters who serve as an argument that good men exist: Nelson, Pitt, Moore, the Sergeant, Wellington, Ney, Brunswick – men devoted to the nation, men who are ready to lay down their lives for honour and duty.

To summarize, the main characters lack more lively and personal features. Napoléon is portrayed mostly as an impersonal force of historical events and only to a lesser extent as an individual with his own personal perception. Nelson is idealized, his emotional qualities are rather sentimental while Wellington remains a rational person. Marie Louise and Joséphine seem to be the puppets in Napoléon's hands. Other women have just limited roles. Despite Hardy's effort for diversity of female characters, most of them bear the same significant aspect – suffering from the treatment of men, war, loss of their children. According to Wain (1965, p. xvi), the schematization of the characters in Hardy's approach to people as mere puppets in the historical process does not damage the drama too much.

7. The Specific Themes in The Dynasts

7. 1 The Religious Issues in The Dynasts

The philosophical question of God interferes with the religious issues, namely Christianity. Hardy refers to Christianity in several parts of his drama. According to the Spirit of the Years, in the instance of Napoléon's and Joséphine's coronation, Christianity is only a brief 'local cult' not influential in the systems of suns and their planets in their perpetual movement (*D* 1.1.VI, p. 32-33). Hardy's critical view of Christianity as the official religion is expressed in the words of the Spirit of the Pities at Waterloo when it marvels at brutality and barbarity of wars led by Christians:

A lingering-on, till late in Christendom,
Of the barbaric trick to terrorize
The foe by aspect! (*D* 3.7.IV, p. 496)

Doubts about the security of human principles of the Christian Church are expressed by a rustic in the scene of Napoléon's burning. The rustic implies that even a vicar might backslide to such inhuman behaviour at that gory time (*D* 3.5.VI, p. 451). The clash between the Christian moral principles and the war conducting of Christian countries is emphasized by Napoléon when he mocks the Russian soldiers kneeling in front of an icon before the battle at Borodino:

[...] but I laugh
That men can be so grossly logicless,
When war, defensive or aggressive either,
Is in its essence Pagan, and opposed
To the whole gist of Christianity! (*D* 3.1.IV, p. 342)

The last hymn of the Chorus of the Pities demonstrates that in spite of disputes and criticism of Christianity as the official religion, Hardy believes in a good God as a power through which all the living live and in which all the dying die (*D* After Scene, p. 523). If the Chorus of the Pities speaks for Hardy, i.e. if it expresses Hardy's attitude, Hardy adopts the deistic view, although in the bitter note in his diary on 29 January, 1890, he himself assumes the pessimistic approach:

I have been looking for God 50 years, and I think that if he had existed I should have discovered him. As an external personality, of course – the only true meaning of the word (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 224).

Hardy's personal disappointment by Christianity is mentioned in the poetic expression in the words of the Spirit of the Pities:

I did not recognize it here, forsooth;
Though in its early, lovingkindly days
Of gracious purpose it was much to me. (*D* 1.1.VI, p. 33)

In connection with the religious issues Hardy in his letter to Alfred Noyes from December 1920 stresses "the vast difference between the expression of fancy and the expression of belief" (Orel, 1963, p. 28).

7. 2 Patriotism

The period of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars is characterized by intensifying patriotism in Europe (Hobsbawm, 2000, p. 25-26). Hardy expressed his

opinion of patriotism in his diary on September 8, 1886: “[...] certain things may both be good and mutually antagonistic: e. g. patriotism [...]“ (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 282). He also wrote in an undated note: “Patriotism, if aggressive and at the expense of other countries, is a vice; if in sympathy with them, a virtue“ (F. E. Hardy, 1965, p. 416). The French conquering patriotism is implied, for example, when the soldiers express their enthusiasm for dead-ripe design on England’s shore (*D* 1.1.II), or when they sing songs celebrating their previous victories while they are marching towards Ulm (*D* 1.3.III). The nationalism prevents the common French from realizing the fact that they are exploited by Napoléon for his dynastic interest (*D* 1.6.VII). On the other hand, the defensive patriotism is raised, for example, in Prussia at the moment of the threat of Napoléon (*D* 2.1.III,VI). Hardy contrasts Napoléon’s personal identification with France, the patriotism in the service of aggression against other countries with the patriotism of honour and responsibility to England. Hardy’s patriotism is even explicitly expressed in some scenes.

The motif of pride in England for her role and position in the Napoleonic Wars is often repeated in the drama. During an evening party the notables express their pride in England for being the leader of diplomatic discussions about general league of all Europe outraged by Napoléon (*D* 1.1.V). Similarly, the Prime Minister Pitt voices his pride in England after the victory at Trafalgar. He considers England as the exemplar for all Europe:

England has saved herself, by her exertions:
She will, I trust, save Europe by her example! (*D* 1.5.V, p. 103)

England is also honoured by the citizens at Vienna’s café for her consistent attitude towards Napoléon (*D* 2.3.V). The advantage of stability of the English Constitution is recognized through the words of the French servant in the Tuileries after Napoléon’s defeat at Leibzig:

[...] I think I’ll turn Englishman in my older years, where there’s not these
trying changes in the Constitution! (*D* 3.4.III, p. 408)

Next, Marie Louise admires the English nature in her reaction to the Englishmen’s calm response at the Conference in Vienna after they learn about Napoléon’s flight from Elba:

They ever take things thus phlegmatically:
The safe sea whittless Continental scares
In their regard. I wish it did in mine! (*D* 3.5.II, p. 432)

The Spirit of Rumour in the disguise of a young foreigner in a dialogue with a woman in front of the Tuileries also refers to the English nature. He appreciates the nature formed by rain and sea, which is the guarantee of the advantage at sea. The Spirit then argues that Napoléon will never gain victory over England at sea:

[...] these English take to liquid life
Right patly – nursed therefor in infancy
By rimes and rains which creep into their blood,
Till like seeks like. The sea is their dry land,
And, as on cobbles you, they wayfare there. (*D* 1.6.VII, p. 132-133)

In the end, even Napoléon himself bitterly admits his inability to humiliate the proud England, the English saving their own country:

Saving always England's –
[...] she
Whose tough, enisled, self-centred, kindless craft
[...] made herself the means of mangling me! (*D* 3.7.IX, p. 520)

Hardy indirectly implies his patriotism in the depiction of the English characters and countryside. The characters of admirable heroes are all (with the exception of less significant characters like Marshal Ney and the Duke of Brunswick) English: Nelson, More, Wellington. Hardy's love to his country of birth, called Wessex, is imprinted in the words of Captain Hardy when he affectionately remembers his native land while he is sitting by dying Nelson (*D* 1.5.IV). The emotive scenes from the lives of common Englishmen are mainly situated to Wessex (*D* 1.1.I; 1.2.V; 3.5.VI).

The conflict between two forms of patriotism is developed from the beginning to the end of the drama. As Orel (1963, p. 56-57) points out, Hardy's emphasis on England as Napoléon's obsession which mobilizes the English to prevent the Emperor from achieving the complete triumph unifies the confusion of historical events.

The English patriotism is in accordance with the defensive patriotism of the nations in the Peninsula. The Spanish resistance to Napoléon from 1808 onwards was enthusiastically accepted by the English society. *The Morning Chronicle* wrote on 15 June 1808:

At this moment the English people would cordially acquiesce in any effort, however expensive, that could assist the cause of that brave and noble nation, so truly intimately do they sympathize in the struggle of a people for liberty". (quoted by Roberts, 1939, quoted in Joll, 1967, p. 56)

The patriotism of other nations, e.g. of Russia, protecting their homeland is not much elaborated in the drama.

7.3 The Relations Between Men and Women

Another theme discussed throughout the drama is the relation between men and women. Women refer to the dominant position of men who despite their initial emotional attachment and courtesy exert their interest and superiority. Women's fate is only to accept it, as formulated by Joséphine when she is thinking about the pros and cons of her relationship with Napoléon who intrigued with Madame Walewska and finally preferred Marie Louise:

[...] The independent spouse
At that time was myself; but afterwards
I grew to be the captive, he the free.
Always 'tis so: the man wins finally! (*D* 3.4.VII, p. 423)

Similarly, Napoléon's promise to save Marie Louise from another difficult delivery is commented by the Duchess of Montebello: "[...] In cold blood it would be far otherwise. That's how men are." (*D* 2.6.III, p. 294)

Princess Theresa of Bourbon represents the woman who accepts the imbalanced relationship. Although she knows that her husband Godoy has love affairs with other women, she saves him from the wrathful crowd (*D* 2.2.II). On the contrary, the Prussian Queen Louisa during her meeting with Napoléon complains about the fate of women and their impossibility to win:

O why did not the Greatest of the Age –
Of future ages – of the ages past,
This one time win a woman's worship – yea,
For all her little life! (*D* 2.1.VIII, p. 179)

Men's claim to freedom of sexual concern with other women is advocated by Prince Regent in the situation when he hastily leaves the festivity to escape the jealous confrontation between his wife and his former mistress, his new favourite, being present too:

If men of blood must mate with only one
Of those dear damned deluders called the Sex,
Why has Heaven teased us with the taste for change? (*D* 2.6.VII, p. 318)

In the scene where Mrs. Dalbiac a Mrs. Prescott, the English officers' wives are looking for their spouses, a sentinel expresses his opinion of women as the cause of problems: "Where there's war there's women and where there's women there's trouble!" (*D* 3.1.II, p. 331)

The inferior status of wives to their husbands is illustrated in the scene in which the ministers and sovereigns during the Conference of the Allies in Vienna move to talk apart and leave the ladies aloof, even the Grand Duchesses and Empress (*D* 3.5.II).

Hardy thus critically depicts the contemporary status of women in society. As Hilton (2008, p. 353) writes, in the first half of the 19th century, the English society was patriarchal and “a wife had no legal identity as distinct from her husband’s“. Neither in political life women played an important role, “the Duchess of Devonshire might possibly have helped in the gestation of the ‘Tallents Ministry’ in 1806, but that was all“ (Hilton, 2008, p. 355).

Hardy was affected by women’s suffering. It also became the theme of his other works.

7.4 The War

The theme of war is being developed throughout the drama. Part First begins in the atmosphere of the anticipation of the war between France and England. The war preparations finally lead to the battle at Trafalgar. The initial war conflict between the two countries (together with France’s ally Spain) gradually expands and at the end of Part First in the battle at Austerlitz the Austrians and Prussians also participate in the war. In Part Second the European battlefield covers Austria, Prussia and the Spanish Peninsula. In Part Third Russia also interferes in the war. In the descriptions of battles the number of wounded and dead men increases - at Borodino “the action almost ceases to be a battle, and takes the form of wholesale butchery by the thousand“ (*D* 3.1.V, p. 344). This makes the Shade of the Earth sick, so it says:

The fumes of nitre and the reek of gore
Make my airs foul and fulsome unto me! (*D* 3.1.V, p. 344)

The war is presented in *The Dynasts* as dehumanizing. This is impressively illustrated in the scene with the deserters from the retreating English army near Astorga in Spain. Some of the men are dead drunk and nearly naked. While one of them is embracing a dead woman, there comes the voice from the retreating army: “It is the worst case of brutality and plunder that we have had in this wretched time!“ (*D* 2.3.I, p. 208).

In Part First in the first battles, at Trafalgar and at Ulm, the victor maintains the dignity of the defeated (Villeneuve in *D* 1.5.IV,VI; Mack in *D* 1.4.V), however, since

Part Second the victors “[...] are plundering in all directions“ (*D* 3.2.III, p. 371) and they are hunting the defeated (*D* 3.7.VIII).

Hardy in this way demonstrates that the war encourages in men the delight to kill, that it gradually becomes more and more inhuman and involves more and more people, nations and countries. Hardy’s vision of modern war was, in fact, materialized later during the World Wars.

The war also reveals the character of the relationships between the sovereigns or the governments and their nations. The Shade of the Earth doubts about the wisdom of the government encouraging people to fight because of changing of dynasties:

[...] Howsoever wise
The governance of these massed mortalities,
A juster wisdom his who should have ruled
They had not been. (*D* 1.1.II, p. 15)

Hardy stresses the senselessness and illogicality of the war where common people of different nationalities kill each other, although they personally have no reason for mutual hostility. The Spirit of the Pities renders it impressively in the battle at Talavera:

What I see but thirsty, throbbing bands
From these inimic hosts defiling down
In homely need towards the little stream
That parts their enmities, and drinking there!
They get to grasping hands across the rill,
Sealing their sameness as earth’s sojourners. –
What more could plead the wryness of the times
Than such unstudied piteous pantomines! (*D* 2.4.V, p. 245)

The tragedy of the victims of wars and the death of common soldiers for political interests and the fame of monarchs is highlighted by their anonymity, as the Spirit of the Pities expresses on the island Walcheren:

Like the mist we fade,
No lustrous lines engrave in story we,
Our country’s chiefs, for their own fames afraid,
Will leave our names and fates by this pale sea
To perish silently! (*D* 2.4.VIII, p. 252)

Hardy’s realistic depiction of so many battles with their horrors shows the war as barbaric, devastating and inhuman. Hardy contrasts the war with pity and belief in knowledge. However, it seems that these qualities are not powerful enough, as Hardy forgets about love as the counterpart of the destructive drive in man.

8. The Form, Style and Dramatic Devices in The Dynast

8. 1 The Form

The Dynasts is a drama and as such it follows the basic dramatic structure of acts and scenes. However, it is an unusually extended drama consisting of three parts. Part First consists of Fore Scene and thirty five scenes in six acts, Part Second contains forty three scenes in six acts, and Part Third comprises of fifty three scenes in seven acts plus After Scene. *The Dynast* was intended as a closet drama as Hardy in his preface speaks about readers not spectators. Hardy himself calls *The Dynasts* an epic-drama in the subtitle.

8. 2 The Style and Dramatic Devices in The Dynasts as a Whole

Dramatic dialogues, generally basic dramatic devices, are in *The Dynasts* reduced at the expense of long monologues of the Spirits, especially the Spirit of Rumour and Recording Angels, describing the events. Some long speeches of Napoléon, Pitt and other politicians on political issues are also, in fact, hidden monological units. The dialogues in verse fail in the expression of real emotional features of the characters. The changing of utterances in verse and in prose in one scene and in one character goes against the integrity of characters and scenes.

The cast of the drama is extraordinarily enormous. Except for the Phantoms there are about 75 speaking characters in Part First, and approximately 120 in each of the next two parts. Most of the characters have only an episodic role, they appear for a short time and their fate is not developed in the drama. Napoléon could be considered as the protagonist of the whole drama, however, there is no single antagonist. In Part First Nelson could be Napoléon's antagonist in the field of warfare and Pitt in the field of diplomacy. Part Second seems to lack the antagonist, but in Part Third Wellington gradually becomes Napoléon's main antagonist. Hardy tries to present the characters in pairs. Similarly, the plot of the drama is formed by several isolated events in terms of place and time which seem to be disconnected at first sight. Nevertheless, the events gain the importance when they are interlocked in one unit. It seems that Hardy by his artistic devices argues into the philosophical conception of the historical events presented by the Spirit of the Years that the meaning of an individual event emerges from the whole:

Nay, nay, nay;
 Your hasty judgments stay,
 Until the topmost cyme
 Have crowned the last entablature of Time.
 O heap not blame on that in-brooding Will;
 O pause, till all things all their days fulfil! (*D* 1.5.IV, p. 100)

The Dynasts is characteristic of its large variety in poetic devices. The Choruses as an aerial music sing in rhymed verse, as in the impressive poetic depiction of the atmosphere in the evening before the battle at Waterloo in a lyric verse of the Chorus of the Years:

The eyelids of eve fall together at last,
 And the forms so foreign to field and tree
 Lie down as though native, and slumber fast!
 [...]
 Beaten about by the heel and toe
 Are butterflies, sick of the day's long rheum,
 To die of a worse than the weather-foe.
 Trodden and bruised to a miry tomb
 Are ears that have greened but will never be gold,
 And flowers in the bud that will nevel bloom. (*D* 3.6.VIII, p. 483)

The poetic expression of the gradation of war events from the initial motionless silence, through getting nearer, to the face-off at the battle of Waterloo recited by the Chorus of Rumours is a nice example of an epic rhymed verse:

Twice thirty throats of couchant cannonry –
 Ranked in a hollow curve, to close their blaze
 Upon the advancing files – wait silently
 Like to black bulls at gaze.

The Guard approaches nearer and more near:
 To touch-hole moves each match of smoky sheen:
 The ordnance roars: the van-ranks disappear
 As if wiped off the scene.

The aged Friant falls as it resounds;
 Ney's charger drops – his fifth on this sore day –
 Its rider from the quivering body bounds
 And forward foots his way.

The cloven columns tread the English height,
 Seize guns, repulse battalions rank by rank,
 Into their front and flank. (*D* 3.7.VIII, p. 512)

As Orel (1963, p. 55) writes, Hardy uses unusual variety of about thirty metres in a rhymed verse.

The form of speech of the characters reflects their status. The Spirits with higher status, the Emperors and nobles speak in unrhymed verse – in blank verse. To distinguish the Spirits and the mortals the speeches of the Spirits are printed in italics and their language is full of abstract nouns, archaisms and neologisms, which makes the text more difficult to understand. Halliday (1972, p. 162) and Wain (1965, p. xvi) in this respect criticize Hardy's verse on the example:

You cannot swerve the pulsion of the Byss, - (*D Fore Scene*, p. 1)

For the large potencies

Instilled into his idiosyncrasy - . (*D Fore Scene*, p. 3)

Wain (1965, p. xvi) provides the example when Hardy's excessive interference with the English language leads to absolute incomprehension of the text:

So may ye judge Earth's jackalocks to be

Not fugled by one Will, but function-free. (*D Fore Scene*, p. 6)

As Halliday (1972, p. 162-163) mentions, Hardy's blank verse is wooden and monotonous, but sometimes, when Hardy is "deeply moved by things he loved", his verse sounds like music, for example, Captain Hardy's memories of Wessex:

Old childish things at home, down Wessex way,

In the snug village under Blackdon Hill

Where I was born. The tumbling stream, the garden,

The placid look of the grey dial there,

Marking unconsciously this bloody hour,

And the red apples on my father's trees,

Just now full ripe. (*D 1.5.IV*, p. 97)

The Phantoms in the lowest position of the hierarchy, i. e. the Spirit Ironic and the Spirit Sinister, speak mostly in prose. Common people such as peasants, sailors, servants, boatmen, and soldiers speak in prose as well. The language of the peasants bears the characteristics of spoken language and it contains a lot of contracted forms. The example of such language could be found in the speech of a rustic in Durnover scene of burning of Napoléon's effigy:

Says I, please God, I'll lose a quarter to zee he burned! And I left Stourcastle at dree o'clock to a minute. And if I'd known that I should be too late to zee the beginning on't, I'd have lost a half to be a bit sooner. (*D 3.5.VI*, p. 449)

Hardy uses less common words and less understandable poetic devices on both poles of the hierarchy. It seems that the form of verse or prose also varies according to the level of the discourse grandness. This is obvious from the conversations of the

members of English high society who speak in prose when they converse about common matters. For example, in the scene with the mentally ill King George the prose impressively stresses the tragedy of the King's character as it expresses his undignified position:

How dare they! I am Elector of Hanover! [...] My friends, don't bleed me – pray don't! It makes me so weak to take my blood. And the leeches do, too, when you put so many. You will not be so unkind, I am sure! (*D* 2.6.V, p. 303)

But when the King speaks about the same thing in verse, then with royal dignity:

O will you do it, sir, against my will,
And put me, once your king, in needless pain?
[...]
When I was hale and ruled the English land –
I ever did my utmost to promote
The welfare of my people, body and soul!
[...]
So much of me you surely know, my friends,
And will not hurt me in my weakness here! (*D* 2.6.V, p. 304)

Another irregularity in using verse to express a higher status of a person can be found in songs sung by common people. A woman in Durnover scene of the expectation of the coming war with Napoléon sings a touching song in which Hardy combines rhymed verse with spoken contracted forms:

My Love's gone a-fighting
Where war – trumpets call,
The wrongs o' men righting
Wi' carbine and ball,
And sambre for smiting,
And charger, and all! (*D* 3.5.VI, p. 452)

The variety of the drama also lies in Hardy's employment of both visual images and verbal descriptions. Hardy is at his best in visual imagery. His depiction of natural scenery is very impressive. He masterly works with the pictures of dawn and twilight when the nature wakes up and then becomes silent in the evening before or after the battle. The boundary between the day and night is at the same time the boundary between war and temporal peace. Hardy masterly uses the contrasts to imply emotional thrill in the scene, as in the description of the night before the battle at Wagram:

The July afternoon turns to evening, the evening to twilling. A species of simmer which pervades the living spectacle raises expectation till the very air itself seems strained with suspense. A huge event of some kind is awaiting birth. [...] From bridge to bridge and back again a gloomy-eyed

figure stalks, as it has stalked the whole night long, with the restlessness of a wild animal. [...] The figure is that of Napoléon, [...] At six the rain ceases, the mist uncovers the face of the sun, which bristles on the helmets and bayonets of the French. (*D* 2.4.II, p. 233-234)

The impressive visual image of the morning sun which breaks the darkness and reveals the soldiers appears also in the scene before the battle at Austerlitz:

Shortly before dawn on the morning of the 2nd of December. A white frost and fog still prevail in the low-lying areas; [...] and suddenly the sun breaks forth radiantly to the left of the Pratzen upland, illuminating the ash-hued face of Napoléon and the faces of those around him. All eyes are turned first to the sun, and thence to look for the dense masses of men that had occupied the upland the night before. (*D* 1.6.III, p. 115-117)

The sunrays in these scenes open the view almost by the cinematic technique.

In addition to brilliant visual images, Hardy employs sounds to make the scene more emotive:

In the darkness of the distance spread cries from maimed animals and the wounded men. (*D* 3.3.III, p. 387)

Hardy's visual style of presenting poetic material is characterized by using colours, as in the following examples:

Red lancers, green chasseurs: behind the blue
The red; the red before the green (*D* 3.7.IV, p. 496)

or:

[...] the sun approaching its setting in a sky of gorgeous colours. (*D* 3.7.VIII, p. 512)

Colours are also used to stress the cruelty of war:

Men's mussings are busy with forecasts
Of musters and battle,
And visions of shock and disaster
Raise red on the year. (*D* Fore Scene, p. 5)

The splendour of the coronation ritual as well as Napoléon and Joséphine's gorgeous position in Part First are depicted in the visual images of the glittering gold interior of the Cathedral and costumes:

The walls, arches, and columns are draped in silk fringed with gold. A gilded throne stands in front of the High Altar. [...] The Empress Joséphine enters, in a shining costume, and diamonds that collect rainbow-colours from the sunlight piercing the clerestory windows. (*D* 1.1.VI, p. 32)

Similarly in Part Third, Hardy uses the visual image of Napoléon's shabby and muddy attire to illustrate the extent of Napoléon's debacle in Russia (*D* 3.1.XII, p. 361).

One of the most impressive visual images in the drama is the picture of the frozen French soldiers drawing close together around the extinct fire in the deserted land in Lithuania. It is more the visual display than the music of Hardy's verse, which impresses the reader:

They all sit
As they were living still, but stiff as horns;
And even the colour has not left their cheeks,
Whereon the tears remain in strings of ice.- (*D* 3.1.XI, p. 359)

[...] and with the advance of day the snow resumes its fall, slowly burying the dead bivouackers. (*D* 3.1.XI, p. 359)

Hardy's rich visual imagination can be demonstrated by the variety of the scene closures. The curtain is used very rarely to close the scene. Hardy in *The Dynasts* prefers veiling the sight by clouds (p. 12, 13, 37, 153, 273, 286), by night (p. 27, 229, 343, 345, 384, 393), by mist (p. 43, 48, 163, 389, 518), by fog (p. 160, 253, 480), by night shades (p. 193, 115, 180, 190, 215), by shadows (p. 137, 204), by dusk or thickened darkness (p. 105, 166, 210, 221, 267, 302, 339, 364, 382, 397, 428, 453), by rain (p. 68, 233, 331), by haze (p. 77), by smoke (p. 59, 84, 89, 352), by snow (p. 359), by sunset (p. 443), by gradual extinguishing of light (p. 156, 401), by extinguishing candles (p. 463), by sleep (p. 367, 484), by shifting the point of view (p. 46, 54, 92, 234, 509), by receding of objects, sounds and departure of characters (p. 32, 63, 80, 128, 133, 145, 170, 196, 224, 259, 279, 290, 309, 355, 420, 430, 435, 473, 501), and by window-curtains (p. 471). Hardy illuminates the scene with sunlight instead of spotlights. Apparently, he replaces the scenic props by natural effects.

Visual imaginativeness is contrasted with long speeches of politicians, especially in the Old House of Commons (*D* 1.1.III; 3.5.V). Their rhetoric struggles sound monotonous and weary, their hassles lack wit and leisure. The political debates are based on verbal meanings, as illustrated by direct references in the speeches:

As oft does ambiguity of word (*D* 3.5.V, p. 447)
If words have any meaning [...] (*D* 3.5.V, p. 447)
Good God, then, what are we to understand? –
However, this denial is a gain,
And my misapprehension owes its birth
Entirely to that mystery of phrase
Which taints all rhetoric of the noble lord. (*D* 3.5.V, p. 447)

Hardy is not successful in attracting the reader's attention in the passages where he cannot use his visual imagination. The poetic value of the work in these terms seems to be markedly lower in contrast to the visual parts.

The Dynasts contains a large range of vocabulary, including the war and marine terminology. Speaking about ships, Hardy uses the words like wessels, brigs, sails, boats, frigates, luggers (p. 27), fleet (p. 57), flotilla (p. 43), squadron (p. 43), three-deckers (p. 90). He denotes bodies of soldiery as troop (p. 45), squadron (p. 27), array (p. 46), column (p. 62), division (p. 62), regiment (p. 62), corp (p. 74), battalion (p. 120), escort (p. 471), brigade (p. 490). Numerous archaisms can be found in the discourse of the Phantoms, expressions like wrought (p. 1), whence (p. 1), yea (p. 26), thow (p. 15), ere (p. 29), brethen (p. 91), wither (p. 76), ruth (p. 137). Archaisms sometimes appear also in the speeches of mortals, as wherein (p. 20), thereat (p. 21). Hardy successfully manages, through the vocabulary that is used by the characters, to reflect their mood, the way of their perception, their personality, their character qualities. The evidence is in Nelson and Napoléon's vocabulary. Hardy lets Nelson use the words connected to emotions to emphasize his emotionality, as in the following examples: I have a feeling (p. 39), I fear (p. 40), a sense (p. 40), dissatisfied (p. 40). On the contrary, Napoléon's agility and interest in war is illustrated by words and phrases like action (p. 43), fought (p. 44), victory (p. 44), brave (p. 44), I cut (p. 44), pause not (p. 45), not a moment dallying (p. 45), all's ready (p. 45), you forbid [...] to lose an hour (p. 45), forth to sea (p. 45), quickly weigh (p. 45), with all your strength (p. 45), this moment (p. 46), without pause (p. 46), etc.

Stage-directions, a common subsidiary means of a scenic technique, serve as very important organic components of *The Dynasts*. Each scene is opened by a detailed description of the setting, characters and plot. The stage-directions significantly shift the plot in the scene. The visual descriptions called Dumb Shows, which generally deal with the preparation and development of war events, play an important role in the drama, primarily in war scenes. As Veltruský (1999, p. 58) points out, if stage-directions form long coherent passages and are regularly interchanged by dialogues, then the work lies on the boundary between drama and epic. Thus, the extensive stage-directions shift *The Dynasts* more to the epic form.

The stage-directions form the drama also with their cinematic elements. Commentators on Hardy's drama agree on the cinematic technique in *The Dynasts* as Hardy's new original method of working with such an extent material. Halliday (1972, p. 161) illustrates Hardy's cinema-like technique by rapid shifts in the perspective of vision from the Overworld downward through space, from one place of Europe to another, as with telescopic lens. According to John Wain (1965, p. x - xi) in the introduction to the drama, *The Dynasts* "is a shooting-script" (Wain, 1965, p. x) not only because of the camera-like direction of view in the construction of the scenes where it sometimes shows embracing panorama and sometimes it moves to details, but also in succession of the scenes in an act. Sometimes an unmoving camera-angle for a scene "is dramatic in the same way as a stage-play" (Wain, 1965, p. xiii). Wain advocates his statement by the examples of Part First, Act Sixth, Scene III (the battle at Austerlitz) and Part Second, Act Third, Scene I (the scene with deserters). He also emphasizes the scene of a young and an old lady in Brussels (*D* 3.6.IV), inserted between two panoramic shots, as being intensively impressive.

Hardy's style is distinguished by realism and irony. The scenes in the drama depict with great vivacity even the small details of historical events, their exteriors, interiors and behaviour of individual characters. The most impressive realistic picture is given in the scenes of the battles leading to massacres, where in "smoke, the fumes of gunpowder, and the steam from the hot viscera of grape-torn horses and men" (*D* 3.7.VII, p. 508), in deafening roar "the glittering host [...] ascends the confronting slopes over the bodies of those previously left there, and amid horses wandering about without riders, or crying as they lie with entrails trailing or limbs broken" (*D* 3.7.VI, p. 501). Irony as Hardy's life's attitude is used by the Spirit Ironic. However, other Spirits bring relativity into the evaluation of human matters, they belittle triumphs of people, especially those of Napoléon, as during the coronation in Milan (*D* 1.1.VI), they ironize them and thus destroy heroic aspects of the characters in the drama. On the other hand, the comic elements appear in the drama rarely. A short passage including comic situations is a part of the scene from the party given in the Carlton House (*D* 2.6.VII) where the Prince Regent escapes the meeting with his jealous wife and his mistress. Concerning comicality, the scene in the Carlton House is not as compact as that from Durnover Hill.

8. 3 The Scenes in Prose

Only a smaller part of the drama employs the scenes with the dialogues which are mostly in prose: the dialogue between the passengers on a stage-coach on a ridge in Wessex (*D* 1.1.I), between the spectators of the military review near the Royal watering-place in South Wessex (*D* 1.2.IV), between the old and young man and two visitors in Rainbarrows' Beacon off the south-west English coast (*D* 1.2.V), between the citizens of London (*D* 1.5.V), between the boatmen and burghers in South Wessex (*D* 1.5.VII), between the two English spies commenting on the negotiation between Napoléon and Alexander in Tilsit (*D* 2.1.VII), between the guests at the party given by the Marchioness of Salisbury in London (*D* 2.2.III), between the English deserters and officers in Spain (*D* 2.3.I), between Maria Louisa and the Empress of Austria leaving Vienna before the battle at Wagram (*D* 2.4.I), between the members of a club in London (*D* 2.5.IV), the conversation between Napoléon, Murat and Maria Louisa during their first meeting on the road to Paris (*D* 2.5.VI), between the guests at the party given by the Prince Regent in London (*D* 2.6.VII), between the two wives of the English officers and soldiers in Spain before the battle at Salamanca (*D* 3.1.II), between the servants in Tuileries after Marie Louise's flight from Paris (*D* 3.4.III), between the postillions and the travellers before their meeting with Napoléon on his way to Elba (*D* 3.4.VI), between the sovereigns during the opera performance in London (*D* 3.4.VIII), between the inhabitants of Casterbridge in Wessex (*D* 3.5.VI), between the young and elder lady in Brussels (*D* 3.6.IV), between the citizens of Brussels during the battle at Waterloo (*D* 3.6.VII), between the women, girl and sergeant in English women's camp at Waterloo (*D* 3.7.V).

It is clear that Hardy lets the representatives of all social classes of that time speak in prose. Most of the dialogues in prose are carried out between the Englishmen, either in England or during the campaigns on the Continent. Sometimes, but not very often, the citizens of other countries involved in the Napoleonic Wars also speak in prose.

The dialogues in prose differ from those in verse. They are more dramatic and lively. The characters in the dialogues in prose exert their individuality, distinctive traits of character, their emotionality appears to be more credible. Thus, the scenes in prose, especially those from England, provide a live portrait of life of the English society

during the Napoleonic Wars. In the scenes from Wessex the characters of boatmen and burghers debating in an inn, the character of a vicar, beacon-keepers, members of the county yeomanry, and peasants come to life.

Two scenes in prose are very precious in terms of dramatic integrity: the scene in Rainbarrows' Beacon (*D* 1.2.V) and the scene on Durnover Hill in Wessex (*D* 3.5.VI). The scene in Rainbarrows' Beacon is opened by the stage-directions depicting the atmosphere "of sense of uninterrupted space around" (*D* 1.2.V, p. 48) in the darkness. Two beacon-keepers are watching the horizon to catch signals of the nearing French fleets. The old man preaches, from the position of the elder, a young man at their duties but the young man opposes to him. Their dialogue proceeds to the question of human knowledge and God's interest in it. The theme corresponds to the atmosphere of uninterrupted space. The way of the interaction between the old and young man is in accordance with the age of both characters. Their wrangle is interrupted by the militia man and his wife seeking for some information about the situation. The woman speaks about her bad dreams and her fear of Napoléon whom she fancies like the Cernel Giant. The young man calms down the anxiety. He expresses his attitude that one cannot believe all they hear and he turns his thoughts to concrete things. So does the old man. He invites all to drink a little alcohol. But after a while the old man's attention is attracted by the signals of invasion. He returns to his duty in the King's Service and sends his neighbours away.

The scene depicts the atmosphere of the anticipation of the threat. Anxiety and restful themes change and graduate into the situation of real threat. The dialogues correspond to the characters and the situation. The content of the dialogues is also in accordance with non-verbal behaviour of the characters, for example, the old man shoulders the pike up at the moment of danger.

The scene on Durnover Hill in Wessex deals with the different part of the English society and different emotional atmosphere. A rustic enters the scene of the preparations for the burning of the effigy of Napoléon. He is eager to see the burning of Napoléon despite the fact that he has to interrupt his work. In his dialogues with the members of county yeomanry and volunteers the rustic expresses his embitterment against Napoléon and his disappointment when he learns that he will not see the burning of Napoléon but only of the effigy. He protests against the vicar's condescending

astonishment how he could fancy such inhuman behaviour in a Christian country. The rustic's wish for revenge upon the villain Napoléon is, despite the vicar's statement, indirectly in agreement with the news that Napoléon has been given up to the public vengeance by the Government.

The conversation of the rustic, volunteers and the vicar illustrates the typical features of the characters. The comic moments resulting from the rustic's naivety counterbalance the serious themes and the scene remains live.

8. 4 The Chorus

The chorus, an old dramatic device, plays an important role in *The Dynasts*. The Spirit of the Years, the Spirit of the Pities, the Spirit Ironic, the Spirit Sinister and the Spirit of Rumour have their own Chorus. The Choruses constitute the General Chorus of Intelligences which speaks only occasionally.

The Chorus usually closes and summarizes the previous utterance of the Phantoms or their Semichoruses. It closes all essential units of the drama – Fore Scene and all three Parts of the drama, and it often closes the individual scenes, too. Hardy uses the utterance of the Chorus irregularly. The Chorus is most often employed in Part First and in After Scene. Sometimes it is not clear which Chorus speaks, it could only be deduced from the placement of the Chorus after the utterances of individual Semichoruses or from the content of the discourse.

The Chorus of the Years comments on human deeds and historic events from the point of view of time and space. It thus brings the aspect of relativity into their evaluation of deeds when for example, after the victory at Trafalgar it sings:

Meanwhile the month moves on to counter-deeds
Vast as the vainest needs,
And fiercely the predestinate plot proceeds. (*D* 1.5.VII, p. 108)

The Chorus of the Pities intensifies the impact of pity upon the suffering of people and nations in wars. It takes the floor more often than the Chorus of the Years. In the dispute of these two Choruses, the Chorus of the Pities often has the last word, which implies the hope:

Yet It may wake and understand
Ere Earth unshape, know all things, and
With knowledge use a painless hand,
A painless hand. (*D* 2.6.VII, p. 322)

The Chorus of the Pities is also given the biggest space at the end of the drama, in After Scene.

The Chorus of Ironic Spirits ironically sums up the attitude to the Immanent Will and to the characters in the drama both on the Earth and in the Overworld. For example, it comments on Napoléon's marriage to Marie Louise:

First 'twas a finished coquette,
And now it's a raw ingenue. –
Blonde instead of brunette.
An old wife doffed for a new.
She'll bring him a baby,
As quickly as maybe,
And that's what he wants her to do,
Hoo-hoo!
And that's what he wants her to do! (*D* 2.5.VII, p. 281)

The Chorus of Rumours summarizes the events previously depicted, such as the failure of Fox's negotiation with Napoléon:

France secretly with – Russia plights her troth!
Britain, that lonely isle, is slurred by both. (*D* 2.1.II, p. 151)

The Chorus of Sinister Spirits speaks very rarely. But with other Choruses it participates in the description of the atmosphere before the battle at Waterloo:

And each soul sighs as he shifts his head
On the loam he's to lease with the other dead
From to-morrow's mist-fall till Time be sped! (*D* 3.6.VIII, p. 484)

Generally, the discourse of the Choruses serves as the reinforcement of the effect of the statements of the Phantoms. It seems that Hardy's way of using the chorus in *The Dynasts* does not bring much new.

9. Conclusion

Thomas Hardy proceeded with the composition of *The Dynasts* after the lifelong preparation. Hardy considered verse drama as the best form for elaborating the huge theme of historical events and the struggle of nations during the Napoleonic Wars and on the basis of which for expressing the philosophical conception of man's will. Although he was famous for his novels, he was convinced of superiority of poetry. Hardy started writing *The Dynasts* as soon as his financial situation permitted him to abandon prose in favour of poetry.

Unfortunately, at the beginning of the 20th century English verse drama had not settled the matter of its modern devices yet. Hardy followed Romantic poets in using Elizabethan blank verse which had already lost its harmony with the utterance of modern age. He did not succeed in bringing a new approach into modern verse drama. The form of Hardy's drama also remained in the framework of the current tendency to closet drama as a not very successful attempt to revive verse drama and to cultivate it by intellectual themes. Hardy's drama employs the opposing tendencies of English drama of the turn of the century: realism and naturalism and poetic style. Hardy's effort to retain realistic approach in stage-directions and Dumb Shows as well as his endeavour to describe real historical facts cause that some parts seem to be a confusing mass of material, which goes against the poetic quality of the drama. Only occasionally, lyrical verse in contrast to the realistic pictures of war suffering is impressive, for example, in Captain Hardy's reminiscences during the battle at Trafalgar or in the verse depicting the atmosphere of the evening before the battle at Waterloo.

Hardy's philosophical concept of the Immanent Will labouring unconsciously through all on the Earth where human figures move like puppets ends up in pessimism. Hardy's hope in perfection of mankind by means of growing cognition is not sufficiently supported by the plot, characters or happenings in the drama. It is thus not convincing for the reader. Although Hardy considered the idea of growing consciousness of the Will new, it approximates to Spinoza's philosophical concept. Hardy's philosophical doctrine echoes Schopenhauer's and Von Hartmann's thoughts. However, Hardy introduced interesting and relatively original mythology of Phantoms as impersonated abstractions and interpreters of the philosophical issues.

The pessimistic impression incorporated in the drama also stems from Hardy's religious attitude and from his disappointment at Christianity. In contrast to this, Hardy's warmth and love effuses from his patriotism, his relations to his native country Dorset (called Wessex in Hardy's work) and its inhabitants.

The pessimistic framework is shaped by Hardy's impressive sensibility of never-ending suffering of individuals and nations in wars, too. He especially attends to the suffering of women in their roles of wives and mothers.

The historical line serves as the basis of the drama. However, its extent, Hardy's effort to depict historical events in detail and his interest in the history of the Napoleonic Wars seem to distract the reader's attention. Numerous characters who only flit through the drama and rather schematized main characters do not allow the reader to identify with them, perhaps with the exception of the movingly described tragedy of Villeneuve and the last survivors of the French army in frozen land of Lithuania. Hardy in *The Dynasts* fails in developing the complex personality of characters, he fails in integrating two opposing man's tendencies, love and aggression, in a living portrait of one character. Instead, he mostly divides these opposite tendencies and thus he creates black and white figures. Despite its failure in characterization of personal emotional features, especially of the protagonist, Napoleon, *The Dynasts* is appreciated "as one of the two greatest appearances of Napoleon in English poetry, as the Romantic and Victorian poets fail to do much with the Napoleonic theme" (quoted by Bailey, 1923, quoted in Orel, 1963, p. 110-111).

Hardy did not prove his mastery in blank verse - his blank verse is often wooden and monotonous. He achieves music in verse only occasionally, as for example, in Captain Hardy's memories of Wessex, Hardy's beloved country. Language of the *Phantoms* is full of abstractions and archaisms, which makes the text less understandable and reading the text less enjoyable. Speeches of politicians, for example, are long and boring.

On the other hand, Hardy succeeds in getting the reader's emotional involvement by his visual images: in variety of his prosaic descriptions in stage-directions, his lyrical verse and above all in his original cinema-like technique both in the construction of the succession of scenes and in the construction of the scene itself.

To summarize, Hardy's *The Dynasts* is worth being engaged with in those parts concerning ordinary life, especially the life of inhabitants in Wessex, during the Napoleonic Wars. These scenes are live, dramatic and emotionally arousing. However, they are mostly written in prose where Hardy's genius as a novelist is implied. Hardy's mastery in visual imagination and creation of a new camera-like perspective in the construction of the drama before the film as a form of art was developed is of significant value too.

10. Resumé

Ačkoliv básnické drama *Vladaři* je dílem pozdního tvůrčího období, úspěšný prozaik Thomas Hardy byl do té doby v dramatické tvorbě nezkušený. Přes některé pozitivní ohlasy na postupně vydávané tři části dramatu u tehdejších kritiků toto dílo propadlo a nestalo se uznávaným dílem anglického básnického dramatu a anglické literatury celkově. Záměrem této diplomové práce bylo pokusit se specifikovat charakteristiky, které se na neúspěchu Hardyho dramatu podílejí. Práce současně vycházela z předpokladu, že dílo tak velikého spisovatele bude přece jen vykazovat rysy, v nichž se Hardyho zralý talent projevil a jimiž by mohl oslovit i současného čtenáře.

K tradici anglického básnického dramatu se od alžbětínského dramatu, které položilo jeho základ, váže fakt, že se málokdy vyskytuje v čistě veršované podobě. Velcí alžbětínští dramatici Marlowe a Shakespeare, stejně jako velký dramatik jakubovského období Johnson, střídali prózu a verše v rámci jedné hry, přičemž nejčastěji používali blankvers, nerýmovaný jambický verš o pěti stopách, který se přibližoval mluvené řeči. V této tradici pokračovali dramatici v 17. i 18. století. V 18. století je přece jen patrná tendence k postupné diferenciaci dramatu v próze a ve verších. Oživení básnického dramatu, především tragédie, se stalo ambicí romantických básníků. Jejich snaha dosáhnout tohoto oživení návratem k Shakespearovi a jeho blankversu se příliš nezdařila. Hinchliffe (1997) a Nicoll (1962) považují za jeden z hlavních důvodů tohoto nezdaru užití blankversu, který v té době již přestal být v souladu s mluveným jazykem. Na začátku 20. století, kdy Hardy píše své básnické drama *Vladaři*, není dosud vyřešen problém moderního výrazového prostředku básnického dramatu, který se datuje o dvě až tři desetiletí později a je spojen s T. S.

Eliotem, Yeatsem a Fryem, kteří navázali na dřívější pokusy Abercrombieho a Bottomleye.

Forma epického dramatu je výsledkem Hardyho dlouholetého zrání a promyšlení vhodného rámce pro zpracování tématu historie napoleonských válek. Ve svém rodném kraji, vystaveném v napoleonském období hrozbě francouzské invaze nejtíživěji, se Hardy setkával se vzpomínkami na tyto události od dětství. Postupně uzrávala rovněž Hardyho koncepce dramatu jako nejvhodnější formy pro vyjádření jeho filozofických myšlenek. K psaní *Vladařů* přistupuje v situaci, kdy je již finančně nezávislý a může opustit psaní úspěšné prózy a dát přednost psaní poezie, kterou oceňuje výše. Přestože se postupné vydání všech tří částí dramatu nesetkalo s příliš příznivou kritikou, Hardymu evidentně zejména jevištní produkce upravených vybraných scén na jevišti v Oxfordu a Dorchesteru přinesla na sklonku života nemalé potěšení.

Základním obecným tématem dramatu jsou filozofické otázky. Předscéna uvádí ústy fantomů základní filozofický problém, co je imanentní vůle a na jakém principu pracuje. Nejstarší Duch věků ji představuje jako nevědomou sílu, která se slepě, bez účelu projevuje ve všem a všech na zemi, a tudíž vůli jednotlivce ponechává minimální možnosti. Podle stejného vzorce probíhají stále se opakující pouhá střídání dynastií, bez pokroku. Mladší Duch soucitu oponuje tomuto pojetí vírou v možnost zdokonalení člověka sebepoznáním, a tím i sebeuvědoměním imanentní vůle, která je vlastně synonymem Boha. Jejich spor má rozřešit představení historických událostí v období napoleonských válek jakožto projevu imanentní vůle. Sled historického vývoje válek o novou dynastii, který končí nahrazením Napoleonovy dynastie starou dynastií bourbonskou, slouží Duchu věků jako důkaz pro jeho tvrzení. Duch soucitu si přesto ponechává naději a víru v možnost zdokonalení člověka postupným poznáváním.

Z analýzy Hardyho filozofické koncepce světa a srovnáním s jinými filozofickými systémy vyplývá, že Hardyho pojetí není originální, přibližuje se zejména filozofickým myšlenkám Schopenhauerovým a Von Hartmannovým, jak to dovozuje Orel (1963). Ve svém pojetí fantomů jako personifikovaných abstrakcí ducha své doby, Ducha věků jako esence starověkého chápání světa, Ducha soucitu jako abstrakce novověkého humanistického přístupu ke světu a člověku a ostatních fantomů jako abstrakce sklonů je relativně originální, i když není pochyb o inspiraci v Aristotelově a Platonově filozofii.

Druhým obecným tématem je historická linie napoleonských válek, která má být konkrétním projevem imanentní vůle a tedy materiálem pro zodpovězení filozofických otázek charakteru imanentní vůle a rozsahu individuální vůle. První část dramatu, jejímž těžištěm jsou především záležitosti francouzskou invazí ohrožené Anglie a která pokrývá události roku 1805, se Hardymu tuto filozofickou bázi daří držet. Villeneuveovo rozhodování mezi slepou poslušností a vlastním úsudkem, rozhodování anglického parlamentu o obraně vůči Napoleonovi, rozhodování generála Macka před bitvou u Ulmu i Napoleonovy proklamace po bitvě u Trafalgaru jsou jako projevy svobodné vůle zpochybňovány komentáři fantomů a postupně i vývojem událostí. Ve druhé části se rozvíjí Napoleonova rozpornost mezi reflexí, že jeho jednání je řízeno osudem, a současně neochvějnou vírou ve vlastní všemocnost. Nemožnost individuální vůle a přijetí toho, co se jeví nutné a nevyhnutelné, zobrazuje rozhodování Josefiny a Marie Luisy. Avšak rozsah sedmi let válečných událostí druhé části svou šíří přece jen základní filozofickou bázi dramatu rozvolňuje. Zdá se, jako by Hardy příliš neuhlídal svou zálibu v historii napoleonských válek a tendenci k detailnímu vyčerpávajícímu zobrazení historie. Třetí část, sledující historické události v Evropě v letech 1812 – 1815, je přece jen sevřenější. Prostřednictvím sledu Napoleonových porážek přes jeho snahu prosadit svou vůli se odvíjí působivý obraz imanentní vůle neúprosně prosazující zákonitý konec Napoleonovy dynastie.

V analýze historické linie je srovnáním s historiografickou literaturou doložena značná historická věrohodnost v dramatu popisovaných událostí a postav.

Charakteristiky postav dramatu mají odpovědět na otázku povahy člověka, jak ji v předscéně formulují fantomy. Zejména protagonista Napoleon je představitelem člověka, který obratně využívá národ ve válkách pro svůj osobní zájem, který považuje svůj lid za děti, jejichž emocemi může být manipulováno pro uskutečnění jeho osobního cíle založit vlastní dynastii, ale sám je osobně zbabělý. Též další vladaři - císař František i car Alexander - upřednostňují dynastický zájem před blahem jak svých blízkých (dcery, sestry), tak svých národů, i když jejich blaho proklamují. Do protikladu k nim jsou v dramatu postaveni muži oddaní svému národu, povinnosti ke své zemi a čestnému splnění této povinnosti. Takoví jsou angličtí velitelé Nelson, Moore, Wellington, nebo obyčejný seržant, politik Pitt, ale i francouzský maršál Ney nebo pruský vévoda Brunswick. Kvůli takovým představitelům si podle Ducha soucitu lidský

rod zaslouží milosrdenství. Ženské postavy nehrají v dramatu zásadní roli. Josefína i Marie Luisa jsou spíše loutkami v rukou Napoleona.

Dramatem se odvíjejí rovněž specifická témata: patriotismus, téma křesťanského náboženství, vztahu mužů a žen a téma války. Hardy v dramatu rozvíjí své pojetí útočného patriotismu, jaký v dramatu představuje dobyvačný nacionalismus francouzský, a patriotismu obranného, představovaného patriotismem anglickým a španělským. Analýza dramatu z tohoto hlediska dokládá projevy Hardyho osobního patriotismu. V dramatu lze rovněž vysledovat Hardyho zklamání z rozporu mezi hlásanými křesťanskými zásadami a vedením válek křesťanskými zeměmi. Tlumočí je fantomy i Napoleon nebo prostý vesničan. O dominantní pozici muže ve vztahu k ženě nechává Hardy promlouvat jak muže (anglického prince regenta, obyčejného strážného), tak ženy (Josefinu, vévodkyni z Montebella, pruskou královnu Luisu). Hardy se tímto kriticky vyjadřuje k dobovému postavení ženy. Z Hardyho realistického popisu sledu bitev vystupuje obraz moderní války jako postupně stále více devastující a nelidské, zasahující stále více národů.

Předposlední kapitola analyzuje formu, styl a dramatické prostředky. Vladaři mají tři části se základní dramatickou strukturou aktů a scén, byť bylo dílo zamýšleno pouze jako knižní drama. Hardy jej označuje jako epické drama. Významnou roli v dramatu hrají rozsáhlé scénické poznámky a vizuální deskripce vojenského dění, vložené pantomimy. Rozsáhlý materiál je originálně prezentován kinematografickou technikou konstrukce sledu scén i scén samotných. Podle autora úvodu k Vladařům, Waina (1965, s. x), drama Vladaři „je scénář“. Základní dramatický prostředek, dramatický dialog, je ve Vladařích redukován ve prospěch četných dlouhých monologů fantomů, kteří popisují události. Některé dlouhé projevy Napoleona a politiků jsou často vlastně skrytými monology. Nepříliš zdařilé dialogy ve verších jsou v kontrastu s dialogy ve scénách převážně prozaických. Zejména scény ze života obyčejných obyvatel Hardyho rodného kraje, v dramatu nazývaného Wessex, jsou kompaktní, dialogy živé a v souladu s charakterem postav.

Drama má extrémní počet postav, kromě fantomů kolem 75 hovořících postav v první části a přibližně 120 postav v každé z dalších dvou částí. Mnoho postav má epizodickou roli a dramatem se jen mihnou. Za protagonistu dramatu může být považován Napoleon, proti kterému nestojí jen jeden antagonista. V první části to

mohou být Nelson a Pitt, ve třetí se jím pouze postupně stává Wellington, druhá část antagonistu postrádá. Dramatu chybí hlavní ženská role.

Drama je charakteristické velkou rozmanitostí básnických prostředků. Chorus zpívá rýmovaným veršem. Fantomy s vyšším statusem a význačné osobnosti hovoří nerýmovaným veršem, bankversem. Fantomy v nižší pozici a obyčejní rolníci, vojáci a námořníci hovoří v próze. Řeč fantomů je odlišena kurzívou, je plná archaismů, neologismů a abstraktních výrazů. Veršovaný projev lidí je vyhrazen rovněž vznešenějším obsahům, kdežto próza všedním tématům i u osobností.

Hardyho blankvers je těžkopádný, neohrabaný. Jen občas, když se vyjadřuje o tom, co má rád, např. o svém rodném kraji, je v něm slyšet melodie. Podobně živé jsou celé scény ze života obyčejných obyvatel Wessexu. Hardy mistrně pracuje s vizuální imaginací. Jeho popisy přírodních scenérií, atmosféry očekávání před bitvou, kontrastu přírody a válečných obrazů jsou velmi působivé. Pro Hardyho styl je charakteristický též realismus a ironie.

Závěr označuje charakteristiky díla, které se podílejí na jeho malé úspěšnosti: pesimistická, málo oslovující filozofická doktrína, rozsáhlost málo spojitého historického materiálu, psychologicky nepropracované, schematické hlavní postavy, mnohdy těžkopádný a monotónní verš, místy obtížně srozumitelný jazyk. K hodnotným stránkám díla patří živost a poetická kvalita Hardyho vizuální imaginace, jeho originální kinematografická technika konstrukce scén a především zobrazení života obyvatel Anglie, zejména jeho rodného kraje Dorsetu v období napoleonských válek.

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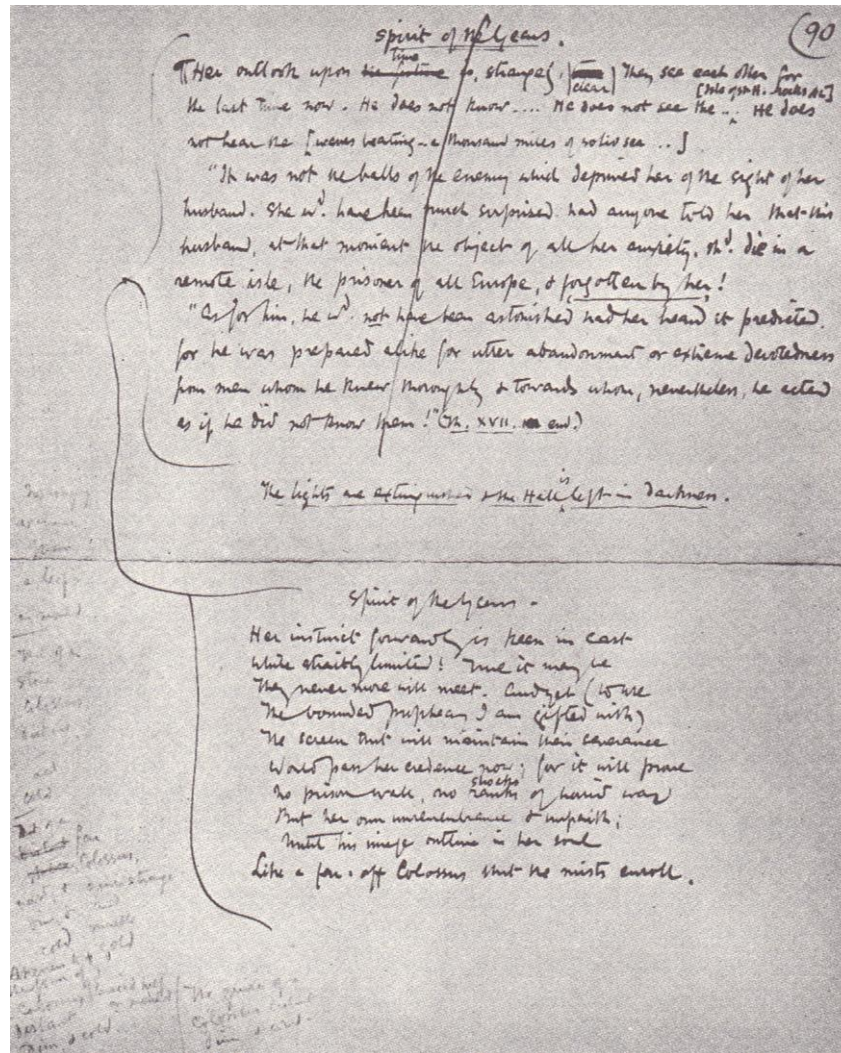
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Appendix

A page of Hardy's rough draft of *The Dynasts*

Part Third - the close of Act IV, Scene II



(copied from Purdy, 2002)